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The Loyal National League.

OPINIONS OF PROMINENT MEN

CONCERNING

The Great Questions of the Times

EXPRESSED IN THEIR LETTERS TO THE LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE, ON OCCASION OF

THE GREAT MASS MEETING OF THE LEAGUE

AND OTHER LOYALISTS

AT UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK,

ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF SUMTER.

For Account of SPEECHES, &c., on This Occasion, see Full Report of the Proceedings, in Another Place.

New York:
C. S. WESTCOTT & CO., PRINTERS,
No. 79 John Street.

1863.

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INVITATIONS TO DISTINGUISHED CITIZENS,

REQUESTING THEM TO

ADDRESS THE LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE AND OTHER LOYAL CITIZENS, AT THE

MASS MEETING IN UNION SQUARE,

New York, April 11th, 1863,

THE SUMTER ANNIVERSARY;

WITH REPLIES FROM MANY WHO WERE THUS INVITED.

(THE SPEECHES OF THOSE WHO ATTENDED THE MEETING ARE PRINTED IN ANOTHER PLACE.)

(COPY OF THE INVITATION.)

LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE.

PLEDGE.

"We, the undersigned, citizens of the United States, hereby associate ourselves under the name and title of the LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE.

"We pledge ourselves to unconditional loyalty to the Government of the United States, to unwavering support of its efforts to suppress the Rebellion, and to spare no endeavor to maintain unimpaired the National Unity, both in principle and territorial boundary.

"The primary object of this League is, and shall be, to bind together all loyal men, of all trades and professions, in a common union, to maintain the power, glory, and integrity of the Nation."

HALL OF THE LEAGUE, 813 BROADWAY,
NEW YORK, MARCH 26TH, 1863.

SIR: The LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE, associated under the pledge above, and which has been signed by thousands throughout this city and state, as well as in other loyal States, "will hold an inaugural Mass Meeting at Union Square, on Saturday, the 11th of April next (the anniversary of the day upon which the war upon the Government was begun in the bombardment of Fort Sumter), to renew to the Government and the People of

the United States its solemn pledge and firm resolve that the *unity* of this nation shall not be impaired either in principle or territorial boundary, and that the Government of our fathers shall be maintained."

The Loyal National League has, from its first inception, held the hope that all the Leagues throughout the country would affiliate under this simple pledge, and delegates from all similar organizations have been invited to attend this meeting.

You are respectfully requested to address this meeting, which will be national in character as in name, or, if your engagements be such as to prevent your active participation, to favor it with the expression of your views, to make a part of the ceremony of the day, an account of which will be published.

I have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JAMES A. ROOSEVELT,
Secretary of the League,
94 *Maiden Lane, New York.*

Officers of the Loyal National League.

COUNCIL OF TWENTY-FIVE.

GEORGE OPDYKE,	WILLIAM CURTIS NOYES,	ROBERT BAYARD,
CHARLES KING,	MORRIS KETCHUM,	JOHN J. CISCO,
JOHN A. STEVENS,	SETH B. HUNT,	C. V. S. ROOSEVELT,
WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT,	E. CAYLUS,	FRANCIS G. SHAW,
JOHN C. GREEN,	MOSES TAYLOR,	CHARLES A. HECKSCHER,
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WILLIAM A. HALL,	CHARLES ASTOR BRISTED,	GEORGE P. PUTNAM.

LIST OF PERSONS INVITED TO SPEAK.

THE PRESIDENT of the United States.
THE VICE-PRESIDENT of the United States.
HON. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.
" S. P. CHASE, Secretary of the Treasury.
" EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.
" GIDEON WELLES, Secretary of the Navy.
" JOHN P. USHER, Secretary of the Interior.
" MONTGOMERY BLAIR, Postmaster-General.
" EDWARD BATES, Attorney-General.

Governor Tod, of Ohio,
" Blair, of Michigan,
" Morton, of Indiana,
" Yates, of Illinois,
" Kirkwood, of Iowa,
" Ramsey, of Minnesota,
" Salomon, of Wisconsin,
" Johnson, of Tennessee,
" Robinson, of Kentucky,
" Buckingham, of Connec't,
" Bradford, of Maryland,
" Pierpont, of Virginia,
" Cannon, of Delaware,
" Coburn, of Maine,
" Andrew, of Massachusetts,
" Seymour, of New York,
" Curtin, of Pennsylvania,
Hon. E. D. Morgan,
" Ira Harris,
" William Pitt Fessenden,
" Lott Morrill,
" John P. Hale,
" Daniel Clark,
" Jacob Collamer,
" Solomon Foote,
" Charles Sumner,
" Henry Wilson,
" H. B. Anthony,
" William Sprague,
" L. S. Foster,
" James Dixon,
" John C. Teneyck,
Hon. Richard S. Field,
" David Wilmot,
" Edgar Cowan,
" John Sherman,
" Benj. F. Wade,
" Zachariah Chandler,
" Jacob M. Howard,
" Lyman Trumbull,
" Joel Parker,
" J. W. Grimes,
" John J. Crittenden,
" James R. Doolittle,
" Henry M. Rice,
" M. S. Wilkinson,
" J. B. Henderson,
" Joseph A. Wright,
" Galusha A. Grow,
" Edward Everett,
" John A. King,
" Joseph Holt,
" Lyman Tremain,
" John K. Porter,
" James Guthrie,
" George G. Wright,
" Henry R. Selden,
" Roscoe Conkling,
" Henry L. Davis,
" Elisha B. Washburne,
" David K. Carter,
" Horace Binney,
" George Bancroft,
" Hiram Walbridge,

Hon. Francis B. Cutting,
" Josiah Irving,
" H. R. Low,
" James T. Smith,
" Henry W. Rodgers,
" John L. Talcott,
" Samuel Treat,
" James Wadsworth,
" Henry Winter Davis,
" J. N. Arnold,
" Francis S. Blair, Sr.,
" Moses F. Odell,
" Daniel S. Dickinson,
" Edward Haight,
" Frederick A. Conkling,
" Owen Lovejoy,
" Schuyler Colfax,
" John R. Porter,
" Preston King,
" George W. Julian,
" James Humphrey,
" Robert Dale Owen,
Admiral Andrew H. Foote,
" Hiram Paulding,
Lieut.-Gen. Winfield Scott,
Maj.-Gen. John C. Fremont,
" John E. Wool,
" Franz Sigel,
" John A. Dix,
" James S. Wadsworth,
" Joseph Hooker,
" George B. McClellan,
" Henry W. Halleck,
" David Hunter,
" Benj. F. Butler,
" Ambrose E. Burnside,
" George G. Meade.
" Silas Casey,
" John G. Parke,
" George Stoneman,
" I. W. McDowell,
" William S. Rosecrans,
" John F. Reynolds,
Brig. Gen. John Cochrane,
" Lewis Wallace,
" Carl Schurz,
" A. J. Hamilton, of Tex.
" Robert Anderson,
Colonel Delafield,
His Grace Abp. Hughes, of N. Y.
Rev. Francis Vinton,
Rev. Alex. H. Vinton,
" R. D. Hitchcock,
" Henry Ward Beecher,
" Henry W. Bellows,
" W. G. Brownlow,
" J. P. Thompson,
" Rudolph Dulon,
" S. S. Cook,
" John Cotton Smith,
" Stephen H. Tyng,
" A. C. Coxe,
" Samuel Osgood,
" O. B. Frothingham,
" S. H. Cox,
" William Adams,
" Thomas E. Vermilye,
" Robert S. Breckinridge,
Judge Charles P. Daly,
" Amasa J. Parker,
" Murray Hoffman,
" William Mitchell,
" J. W. White,
Prof. A. D. Bache,

Mr. William Allen Butler,
" George William Curtis,
" David Dudley Field,
" George D. Prentice,
" William M. Evarts,
" W. J. A. Fuller,
" William Curtis Noyes,
" Charles King,
" Frederick Kapp,
" Charles P. Kirkland,
" Orestes A. Brownson,
" James A. Briggs,
" George Gibbs,
" S. B. Chittenden,
" Geo. W. Chinton,
" Timothy Parsons,
" David S. Coddington,
" John Van Buren,
" James T. Brady,
" Will Van Gersnbach,
" Charles J. Stille,
" E. N. Dickerson,
" Charles E. Norton,
" James A. Hamilton,
" William Cullen Bryant,
" Henry J. Raymond,
" Parke Godwin.

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PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE COUNCIL AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

LETTER OF THE HON. WM. H. SEWARD, SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, *April 3d*, 1863.

MY DEAR SIR: I regret that I cannot attend the Loyal National League, at their inaugural mass meeting, to be held on the 11th of April, to which you have invited me. But I respectfully urge upon those who shall fortunately be able to be there, vigilance, energy, and, above all things, unanimity and concert. When that excellent patriot, Gov. Wright, of Indiana, told me that he was going to Philadelphia to attend a Union League, and asked what he should say to the League for me, "Tell them," I said, "To put my name down on their roll." He replied: "But there are two Union Leagues there; the one thinks this, and is gotten up under such and such auspices; the other thinks that, and is organized by So-and-So. In which of the two will you be enrolled?" "In both of them," was my reply. We are now at the crisis of a revolutionary contest which involves nothing less than the transcendental question whether this unconquerable and irresistible nation shall suddenly perish through imbecility, after a successful and glorious existence of eighty years, or whether it shall survive a thousand years, diffusing light, liberty, and happiness, throughout the world. Our armies are moving on with a step firmer than those of the Roman Empire or the French Republic ever maintained. Our fleets have surpassed in achievements those of any previous national power. Our credit is conquering interested avarice at home, and defying interested conspiracies abroad. All that remains now is to lift the national temper to the needful height, and fortify to the point of inflexibility the national resolution, so that we shall agree to tolerate no treason at home, and repel any and every intervention, seduction, or aggression from abroad. In order to do this, let us, in our Leagues, ask each other no questions about the past. Of what importance is it to our country now, whether a patriot citizen has been a Democrat, or a Whig, or Republican, or Conservative, or Radical heretofore? Who can say that he himself has never erred, or that his neighbor was not sometimes wiser than himself on questions of administration that have passed away forever? Let us ask each other no questions about how the nation shall govern itself, or who shall preside in its councils in the great future that looms up before us, enveloped alternately in menacing clouds and in gorgeous sunlight. Let whoever may deserve the distinction by loyalty and energetic service now, come into place and power when this crisis is passed; and let those who shall have survived it decide for themselves who is most wise and most worthy of their confidence.

Let us save the country; that is labor enough, and it will be glory enough

for all of the actors of the present hour. It will eclipse even the greatness of our honored forefathers. It will leave us nothing to fear for our posterity.

I am, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

JAMES A. ROOSEVELT, Esq., *Secretary, &c.,*
No. 94 Maiden Lane, New York.

LETTER FROM THE HON. S. P. CHASE, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

WASHINGTON, *April* 9, 1863.

GENTLEMEN: Imperative demands on my time compel me to deny myself the gratification of attending the meeting to which you kindly invite me.

You will meet to send words of cheer to our brave generals and soldiers in the field; to rebuke treason in our midst, giving, in the garb of peace, aid and comfort to treason in the panoply of war; to maintain inviolate the integrity of the national territory and the supremacy of the national Constitution and laws; to strengthen the hands and nerve the heart of the President for the great work to which God and the people have called him. For what worthier purposes can American citizens now assemble?

It is my fixed faith, gentlemen, that God does not mean that this American republic shall perish. We are tried as by fire, but our country will live. Notwithstanding all the violence and all the machinations of traitors and their sympathizers, on this or the other side of the Atlantic, our country will live.

And while our country lives, slavery, the chief source, and cause, and agent of our ills, will die. The friends of the Union in the South, before rebellion, predicted the destruction of slavery as a consequence of secession, if that madness should prevail. Nothing, in my judgment, is more certain than the fulfilment of these predictions. Safe in the states, before rebellion, from all federal interference, slavery has come out from its shelter, under state constitutions and laws, to assail the national life. It will surely die, pierced by its own fangs and stings.

What matter now how it dies? Whether as a consequence or object of the the war, what matter? Is this a time to split hairs of logic? To me it seems that Providence indicated clearly enough how the end of slavery must come. It comes in rebel slave states by military order, decree, or proclamation; not to be disregarded or set aside in any event as a nullity, but maintained and executed with perfect good faith to all the enfranchised; and it will come in loyal slave states by the unconstrained action of the people and their legislatures, aided freely and generously by their brethren of the free states. I may be mistaken in this, but if I am another better way will be revealed.

Meantime it seems to me very necessary to say distinctly what many yet shrink from saying. The American blacks must be called into this conflict, not as cattle, not now, even, as contrabands, but as men. In the free states, and, by the proclamation, in the rebel states, they are free men. The Attorney-General, in an opinion which defies refutation, has pronounced these freemen citizens of the United States. Let, then, the example of Andrew Jackson, who did not hesitate to oppose colored regiments to British invasion, be now fearlessly followed. Let these blacks, acclimated, familiar with the country, capable of great endurance, receive suitable military organization and do their part. We need their good-will, and must make them our friends by showing ourselves their friends. We must have them for guides, for scouts, for all military service in camp or field for which they are qualified. Thus employed, from a burden they will become a support, and the hazards, privations, and labors of the white soldiers will be proportionally diminished.

Some will object, of course. There are always objectors to everything practical. Let experience dispel honest fears, and refute captious or disloyal cavil.

Above all, gentlemen, let no doubt rest on our resolution to sustain, with all our hearts and with all our means, the soldiers now in arms for the republic. Let their ranks be filled up; let their supplies be sufficient and regular; let their pay be sure. Let nothing be wanting to them which can insure activity and efficiency. Let each brave officer and man realize that his country's love attends him, and that his country's hopes hang upon him; and, inspired by this thought, let him dare and do all that is possible to be dared and done.

So, gentlemen, with the blessing of God, will we make a glorious future sure. I see it rising before me—how beautiful and grand! There is not time to speak of it now; but from all quarters of the land comes the voice of the sovereign people, rebuking faction, denouncing treason, and proclaiming the indivisible unity of the republic; and in this Heaven-inspired union of the people, for the sake of the Union, is the sure promise of that splendid hereafter.

With great respect, yours very truly,

S. P. CHASE.

Hon. George Opdyke, George Griswold, Esq., and others,
Committee of the Loyal Union League, New York.

LETTER FROM THE HON. GIDEON WELLES, SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

Washington, *April* 10, 1863.

Sir: I am honored by your invitation to be present at the inaugural mass meeting of the Loyal National League at Union Square to morrow, the anniversary of the day when the firing commenced on Fort Sumter, to renew the solemn pledge and firm resolve that the unity of the nation shall not be impaired, and that the government of our fathers shall be maintained. It will not be in my power to attend your meeting, but my heart will be with you. There are no higher earthly obligations than the preservation and perpetuation of the Constitution under which we live, and the Union that our fathers formed, both of which were assailed by traitors at Charleston on the 11th of April, 1861. Two years of causeless and embittered warfare against the most beneficent government which man has ever enjoyed, so far from weakening our efforts or exhausting our energies, only render more obligatory upon us the maintenance of the Union in its integrity, now and forever, with all the vigor we possess, and by all the means which God and nature have placed at our disposal. For one, I am, irrespective of all past party differences or associations, the friend of every man who supports the Union, and the enemy of all who oppose it, or who sympathize or fellowship with the traitors who oppose it. Such, I doubt not, are the object and purpose of the Loyal National League, and as such it has my best wishes for its success.

Very respectfully,

GIDEON WELLES.

James A. Roosevelt, Esq., *Sec'y of the League.*

LETTER OF HON. J. P. USHER, SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

Department of the Interior,
Washington, D. C., *April* 10, 1863.

Sir: I have the pleasure of acknowledging the receipt of your favor of the 26th of last month, wishing me to attend and address the mass meeting to be held at Union Square, in the city of New York, under the auspices of the Loyal National League of that city.

The purpose of the League being to render to the government an unwaver-

ing support in its efforts to suppress the rebellion, and to spare no endeavor to maintain the national unity unimpaired, both in principle and territorial boundary, must find a hearty response in the breast of every loyal man.

While it is a matter of great satisfaction to all patriotic men, that those who league together for the maintenance of the government do not find it necessary to uphold this organization by imposing upon their members secret oaths and obligations of any character, it is a cause of profound regret and just alarm to all patriots, that there exist among us secret societies and organizations, the members of which are bound to each other by unlawful oaths, of such wicked and criminal character that, when called to testify in courts of justice, they refuse, and shield themselves under the law, which declares that no one shall be compelled to accuse himself of *felony*. Had my official duties here permitted, it would have afforded me great satisfaction to meet the thousands upon thousands of loyal and Union-loving men of my native state in your great city, and with them renew our unalterable devotion to the national unity, and join in fresh pledges for its preservation.

I have the honor to be, faithfully,

Your obedient servant,

J. P. USHER.

JAMES A. ROOSEVELT, Esq.,
Secretary of the Loyal National League, New York.

LETTER OF LOT N. MORRELL, U. S. SENATOR FROM MAINE.

AUGUSTA, *April* 7, 1863.

DEAR SIR: I am honored in the receipt of your favor, in which I am invited, on behalf of the "Loyal National League," to be present at the Mass Meeting at Union Square, on the 11th inst. Concurring most cordially in its objects, I regret my inability to be present. In this day of peril to our common country every patriot heart must, I am sure, sympathize with these objects—that of binding together all loyal men of all trades and professions in a common union to maintain the power, glory, and integrity of the nation. Pitiable indeed is that man's insensibility, whose pulse does not quicken at the mention of these high purposes. May the inauguration of the "Loyal National League," on the anniversary of the day upon which war upon the government was begun at Fort Sumter, incite an overwhelming moral conviction of the nation, which shall give to the day the significance of Doomsday to the domestic enemies of the country!

The 11th day of April, 1861, is destined, I do not doubt, to find its historic parallel in another day of an eventful period in our history, that of the 27th day of May, 1754. On this latter day, we are told by the great American historian, that Lieutenant-Colonel Washington, at the forks of the Ohio, afterward named Fort Duquesne, at the head of one hundred and fifty followers, loyal to the English possessions in the Western World, repelled by force of arms the assault of France upon an English fort, and thus began the battle which was to banish from the soil of our republic the institutions of the Middle Ages, and waked a struggle which was to continue until the cause of feudalism and despotism was overthrown. The malignant assault upon Fort Sumter was the signal also for a conflict, long impending between not essentially dissimilar forces, and which admits of no truce until popular power and freedom are triumphant.

The nation's extremity is the nation's opportunity. It has not the guilt of insanely precipitating events; it must not be obnoxious to the folly and madness of not conducting to a prosperous conclusion what was inauspiciously and treacherously begun.

In such an hour of our history, of domestic conspiracy against "the national

life," armed rebellion against the supreme authority, the turbulence and anarchy of secession, confederacy of the enemies of popular government, it is felt that all loyal men, everywhere, should renew their plighted vows to their common country—that they should strive to enter fully into the spirit of the august founders of American liberty; and following their example, and endeavoring to preserve and perpetuate what they, for the welfare of mankind, so earnestly began, pledge their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, in its maintenance. Very respectfully yours,

LOT M. MORRELL.

JAMES A. ROOSEVELT, *Secretary, &c.*

LETTER OF HON. JOHN SHERMAN, U. S. SENATOR FROM OHIO.

MANSFIELD, OHIO, *April* 6, 1863.

SIR: I regret that other duties will not allow me to attend the proposed meeting of the "Loyal National League." Most heartily do I approve of your declaration "that the unity of this nation shall not be impaired." I want no other platform. I will subscribe to no other creed until all the enemies of the Union are overthrown. I will regard every man as a political friend who will only heartily act upon this sentiment, whatever may be his opinion as to the best means to be used for that object. The deep and strong feeling of patriotism now showing itself in every part of the loyal states, gives me full confidence that the purpose of the League will surely be attained.

Very truly yours,

JOHN SHERMAN.

JAS. A. ROOSEVELT, Esq., *Secy, &c.*

LETTER OF THE HON. CHARLES SUMNER, U. S. SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS.

WASHINGTON, 9*th April*, 1863.

DEAR SIR: It will not be in my power to mingle with the patriotic voices which you will bring together on the Anniversary of the assault on Fort Sumter; but could my desires prevail, these voices, pleading for country and civilization, should swell in volume and power, until the whole land is filled with their chorus, and the people everywhere glow with irresistible faith and courage.

The assault on Fort Sumter is one of the most important events of history. But its true character is not always recognized. It was a challenge flung down by slavery to the civilization of the nineteenth century. Of course it was defiant, wicked, barbarous. No robber knight on land, no pirate on the sea, ever more completely became *the enemy of the human race.* As such, our government was bound to instant warfare with it; and in this enterprise of humanity, it was entitled to the sympathy and God-speed of all Christian nations. Unhappily, they have stood aloof or have taken sides with the barbarism. But our duty is none the less plain and constant, while the glory is greater.

Studiously observant of all the constitutional safeguards claimed for slavery, and always recognizing its absolute immunity within the states, I had never supposed that it could be reached except within the exclusive jurisdiction of the national government, nor had any ardor of antipathy ever led me to any proposition inconsistent with this idea. But the assault on Fort Sumter changed all this. Slavery became militant, and from this moment all its pretensions were subjected to the hazards of war. Slavery took the sword, and,

surely in this case, there can be no exception to the rule that he who takes the sword shall perish by the sword. Let it perish, then, and the Divine law be vindicated.

But this assault was something more than a challenge to civilization. It was in its front a challenge, but in its reverse an Act of Emancipation. The rebels acted "wiser than they knew," and their blazing batteries were more than words. They were a proclamation, whose parchment was the firmament, whose letters were cannon-balls, and whose seal was fire; and this proclamation was executed with all mankind for witnesses. Then and there the doom of slavery was fixed. The later declaration of the President only registered in words what the rebel batteries had proclaimed.

But, whether regarded as challenge or as proclamation, we have only to go forward and crush the rebellion. In this way will the impudent challenge be answered, and, at the same time, the proclamation be upheld.

Believe me, my dear sir,

Very faithfully yours,

CHARLES SUMNER.

Jas. A. Roosevelt, *Secretary, &c.*

LETTER OF GOV. ANTHONY, OF RHODE ISLAND.

Providence, *April* 8, 1863.

Sir: I have your invitation to attend the inaugural mass meeting on the 11th inst. I regret that my engagements will not permit me to participate in this great patriotic demonstration, of the importance and value of which I have a high estimate.

It is eminently proper that loyal men of every political faith should unite in the common defence of the government.

History will scarcely credit the fact that while the nation was struggling with this gigantic rebellion, men could be found, not singly, but banded in political organization, to oppose every measure which those to whom the people had intrusted the government had deemed necessary for its preservation; and that at a time when the whole energy of the administration was needed against the rebellion, the constituted authorities were embarrassed and weakened by the necessity of guarding against treason at the north.

But if this treason makes the labors of loyal men more severe, it makes their duty plainer, and makes the glory of an eventual triumph greater. For we shall triumph in the end, and the men who are attempting to degrade the government, and to disgrace our arms, will sink to an infamy which shall cause them to envy the fame of Benedict Arnold, and shall make their children deny their names.

I am, very respectfully,

Your ob't servant,

H. B. ANTHONY.

Jas. A. Roosevelt, Esq.,
Sec'y Loyal National League.

TELEGRAM FROM EX-GOVERNOR WILLIAM SPRAGUE, U. S. SENATOR FROM RHODE ISLAND.

Providence, *April* 11, 1863.

I regret I cannot be with you to-day. You have my "God-speed" in your efforts to unite and stimulate the people in supporting the government. Let us all be banded together in one great brotherhood for the defence of our sacred inheritance, now jeopardized by treason and its abettors.

WM. SPRAGUE.

Jno. Austin Stevens, Jr., *Chairman, &c.*

AUTOGRAPH LETTER OF THE VENERABLE JOSIAH QUINCY.

BOSTON, *April* 14, 1863.

SIR: Your favor of the 3d inst., written "for the Committee of the Loyal National League," and requesting, in case of inability to attend, that I would "address to the meeting, to be held on the 11th of April, a few words to encourage them in the loyal effort now making to invigorate public sentiment and public courage," was not received by me until *that day*, and too late either to respond to that request or to even acknowledge its receipt.

Be assured, sir, that a request of such a nature, from such a committee, on such an occasion, was an honor too flattering not to impress itself deeply on my heart, and to excite into the desire of action what yet remains of patriotic heat under the ashes heaped upon it by old age; and though prevented on this occasion, I yet hope, sooner or later, if life and mind be spared, in some form to respond to the request, the expression of which does me so much honor.

It is, indeed, possible that the extended circumstances of my life may enable me to throw some light on the present period, the events of which were not wholly unanticipated by the great minds which constructed the Constitution of the United States, and who realized the inconsistent elements of which those subjected to it were opposed. The impossibility of a long-continued harmonious action of *five slave oligarchies and of eight independent free democracies* was as well understood by those great minds then as at this day. They acceded to the Constitution as the best form of government it was possible to have effected under the circumstances of the time; but they never considered it either as a perpetuity or of long continuance. In the year 1802, at New York, Alexander Hamilton, in reply to my inquiry, "How long the founders of the Constitution anticipated its continuance?" answered, "Thirty or forty years." Nor would it have continued longer than that time, had not the representatives of the slave oligarchies found by experience that they could control the interests of the free states by the influence of the leaders of the democracies of those states, of whom John Randolph said, sarcastically and exultingly, the "South was as sure as of their own negroes." The subsequent long continuance of the slave states under the Constitution was partly from a perception of their power to control the Union, and perpetually to make it subservient to their projects of multiplying slave states, and thus enlarging slave dominion, and increasing the chances of its perpetuity. For, after New York, under the lead of Aaron Burr, had placed Thomas Jefferson in the United States President's chair, and he had assumed the power which he publicly acknowledged he did not of right possess, of admitting Louisiana into the Union without an appeal to the people or the States, the slave oligarchies realized their power to plant slavery permanently and extensively in the Southwest. From that moment the aggrandizement of the slave power became the master passion of the leaders of the slave oligarchies. All disbelief of the evils of slavery was discarded from their creed, and the belief of its benefits, its blessings, and its power became publicly inculcated and of universal belief, in a manner, if not in fact; for slavery, like

> "Vice, is a monster of such frightful mien,
> That, to be hated, needs but to be seen;
> But seen too oft, familiar with its face,
> We first endure—then pity—then embrace."

But I had no intention to enter upon any discussion of familiar topics in commencing this letter, but only to express my sense of the honor conferred upon me by your Committee, and my desire, if possible, in some form to respond to it.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOSIAH QUINCY.

LETTER OF A. W. BRADFORD, GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND.

STATE OF MARYLAND, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
ANNAPOLIS, *April* 3*d*, 1863.

DEAR SIR: I have received the invitation with which you have honored me, to attend and address a mass meeting you propose to hold in New York, on the 11th inst., to inaugurate the Loyal National League. If my engagements here would permit, I should take great pleasure in attending such a meeting. I fear, however, it will be impossible for me to do so.

We have watched, with much anxiety, for some time past, the course of political events in the Loyal States, and none with more solicitude than such movements in the North. A few months since, some of our friends occasionally felt discouraged by the apparent tendency of these events, whilst our enemies were evidently disposed to regard them as betokening an abatement of that ardent spirit with which the entire North had heretofore responded to the national call. It always, however, seemed to me, that the great and vital questions of the day were only for a time overlooked, by reason of the side issues which partisan leaders had ingeniously succeeded in creating.

Whenever political parties, marshalled under ancient organizations, are struggling for ascendency, we may expect that the old associations connected with them will exert their wonted influence. Their effect, however, is necessarily transient, for when their special occasions have passed, and when there stands out in bold relief a great, obvious, paramount, and patriotic duty to be performed, we may safely trust the instincts of the people rightly to apprehend it; and rest assured that no partisan, still less any treasonable influence, will ever prevent them from discharging it.

I am most happy to see, by all the recent indications, that public sentiment in your great state is satisfactorily responding to this reasonable expectation. and nothing is better calculated to foster this national spirit than the formation of such Leagues as you are about to inaugurate. Similar ones, extensively patronized, have existed in our state for a year past, and with their assistance we trust and believe we have here a national party that knows no subdivisions.

I like the simplicity of your pledge, and the singleness of the purpose it avows: "Unconditional loyalty to the government, and an unwavering support of its efforts to suppress the rebellion." Let that single and determined purpose be the guiding spirit of every movement against the rebels, and their early overthrow is beyond peradventure. It has been their earnest unity of purpose that has always afforded them their only obvious advantage.

When we shall profit by that example, and forgetful, of past political differences and ignoring all other objects or organizations, shall know nothing, for the time being, but the American nation, its unity and its perpetuity, we shall impart to our gallant armies a marching order that will carry them further and faster into the heart of this rebellion than they have ever marched before.

With my best wishes for the rapid increase of your association, and perfect faith in its salutary influence,

I am, with great respect, your obedient servant,

A. W. BRADFORD.

JAMES A. ROOSEVELT, Esq.,
Secretary Loyal National League, &c.

LETTER OF GOV. CANNON, OF DELAWARE.

DOVER, DELAWARE, *April* 8, 1863.

DEAR SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter inviting me to be present at the Mass Meeting to be held on the 11th inst., in

Union Square, to inaugurate the "Loyal National League." I regret that engagements of an official nature will probably prevent my attendance. Meantime permit me to assure you that my warmest sympathies are with your movement. In this struggle for the unity, the perpetuity of the nation, all minor differences should be reconciled, and all subordinate questions postponed. This is no time to cavil at the measures of the administration. The question now is, not how the government shall be administered, but whether it shall exist. After the rebellion shall have been suppressed, and the National Life saved, it will be time enough for loyal men to resolve themselves into political parties, and at the ballot-box settle their disputes concerning the mode of its conduction.

I will enter into no discussion of the causes of the rebellion. Upon the administration is devolved the duty of preserving the national existence. All good citizens should lend their aid to the prosecution of the war with energy. The work should be done thoroughly, and so that complete security should be exacted for the future peace of the republic. Anything that contributes to the maintenance of the public enemy is rightfully the object of attack and destruction. If it be armed men, they should perish; if slavery, it should be extinguished. When the question is between slavery without a government and a government without slavery, no loyal man should hesitate. Those who are in arms for the destruction of the Union, have no right to invoke the Constitution as their protection against the consequences of their own criminality. Nor do I appreciate the wisdom of those who expect to find in its literal provisions specific rules for the suppression of the rebellion. The Constitution was made primarily for the government of a nation in peace. It invested the President with the command of the army and navy, and made him responsible for the enforcement of the laws.

The mode of conducting the war is discretionary, and limited only by the exigency of the occasion and the usage of civilized nations. The end is the preservation of the Union—the highest law, the safety of the republic—the true rule, how we can do the most damage to the enemy with the least loss to ourselves.

As the Executive of this state, which has always been loyal, though some of its citizens are in sympathy with treason, it shall be my pleasure, as it is my duty, to co-operate with loyal men everywhere to maintain the authority of the National Government unimpaired, the territorial extent of our country undiminished, and the right of the people, by their legally expressed will, to govern themselves unabridged.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

WILLIAM CANNON.

To John A. Stevens, Jr., Esq.

LETTER OF GOV. COZZENS, OF RHODE ISLAND.

State of Rhode Island, Executive Department,
Newport, *April* 8, 1863.

Sir: Your circular is received, submitting the pledge of the Loyal National League, established in New York, proposing an inauguration mass meeting, to be held at Union Square, in that city, on Saturday, April 11th, 1863, representing that it will be *national in character*, as in name, and requesting me, in my official capacity, to address the meeting at that time, or favor it with an expression of my views. As it will not be convenient to be present on that occasion, I will take this method to testify my hearty approval of the proposed object of this association—to maintain unimpaired and undiminished the nation's

unity and boundary—binding us together in a common effort to preserve the glory and integrity of this once prosperous republic. There is no more responsible position for the American citizen than this. May we not hope that all will unite in simple honesty for such a splendid purpose, divested of every secret, partisan, or selfish consideration.

The state which I have the honor to represent has never ceased to labor for the preservation of the Union and the Constitution. When, at the first sound of war and cry of danger, my young and valiant predecessor, Gov. Sprague, with Burnside (now one of the nation's chieftains) as his colonel, led the gallant army of Rhode Island to the defence of the nation's capital—from that time forward Rhode Island has been foremost in every effort to break this wicked rebellion, and aid in every effort to restore her country's peace, prosperity, and honor. Small as our state is in comparison with others, she is big in heart. We stand to-day thousands ahead of our quota in the army and navy of our country, and with heroic valor will we ever defend this glorious *Union* from *invasion*, *separation*, or *destruction*.

Wishing every success to an object intended for so much good,

I have the honor to remain,

Your obed't serv't,

WM. C. COZZENS, *Governor*.

To James A. Roosevelt, Esq.,
Secretary of the Loyal National League, New York.

LETTER OF GOVERNOR DAVID TOD, OF OHIO.

The State of Ohio, Executive Department,
Columbus, *April* 3, 1863.

Dear Sir: Official duties will prevent an acceptance of your invitation to attend the inaugural mass meeting at Union Square, on the 11th inst.

As I cannot be present, to make known to the people who may assemble on that occasion, the solemn determination of the people of Ohio on the subject of the rebellion, allow me to request you to read to the meeting the enclosed resolution recently passed by the General Assembly of Ohio, and for me assure them that Ohio will offer her last man and her last dollar before yielding up one square foot of the soil of this republic to traitors and rebels, or to any other power hostile to our glorious institutions.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

DAVID TOD, *Governor*.

To James A. Roosevelt, Esq., *Secy., &c.*

The following is the resolution above referred to.

To the Governor: The following is a joint resolution of the General Assembly, passed the present session, to wit:

Resolved, by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, That we will have no dissolution of the Union; that we will have no armistice; that we can fight as long as rebels and traitors can; that the war shall go on until law is restored, and we will never despair of the republic.

Respectfully yours,

B. F. HOFFMAN, *Secretary*.

Resolutions relative to Pledging the Support of the State to the General Government.

Whereas, A republican form of government is believed to rest largely upon the consent of the governed, and can only be maintained, when war is waged

for its destruction, by a hearty coöperation of the loyal people of such government; and

Whereas, The Constitution of the United States, founded by the wisdom and patriotism of our fathers, very wisely provides for a government of legislative, judicial, and executive departments, with power, believed to be ample, to defend the rights of the people, maintain the authority of the government, and execute the laws of the nation; and,

Whereas, An unholy warfare is now waged by certain states against the authority of the legally constituted government of the country; and as no provision is made by the Constitution for the suppression of a rebellion, and the enforcement of the laws, except through the legally-constituted authorities of the country; and as the execution of the laws, in a republican or democratic form of government, depends largely upon the loyalty and patriotism of the people; therefore,

Resolved, by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, That we deem it proper, as the representatives of the people, to renew our pledges, in the name of the people of the state, to the general government, to render it all the aid within our power, both morally and physically, in its laudable efforts to put down the rebellion, preserve the Constitution, and restore the Union.

Resolved, That it is with pain and mortification that we hear of the propositions of either persons or parties in the North to divide the loyal states, with the ultimate design of attaching any portion of those states to the so-called Southern Confederacy; and that we do, in the name of the people of the State of Ohio, most solemnly protest against such a heresy,—believing that it not only proposes the destruction of the Constitution and of the Union, but would, if encouraged, result finally in the probable overthrow of our civil liberties.

Resolved, That any attempt by persons or parties in the North to divide the territory of the Union, while the general government is waging war for its preservation, is an act of disloyalty—giving aid and comfort to the enemies of the country—and is deserving the severest reprehension and condemnation of all loyal men and good citizens.

Resolved, That the governor be requested to forward copies of the foregoing preamble and resolutions to the President of the United States, and to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

JAMES R. HUBBELL,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

B. STANTON,
President of the Senate.

March 24, 1863.

LETTER OF GOV. SALOMON, OF WISCONSIN.

STATE OF WISCONSIN, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
MADISON, *April* 9, 1863.

SIR: Returning here after several days' absence, I find on my table your letter of the 26th ult., requesting my presence at the inaugural mass meeting of the Loyal National League, which is to be held at Union Square, in your city on the 11th inst.

I regret that I shall not be able to be present at the meeting, there to renew the simple, solemn, and appropriate pledge of unconditional loyalty to the government and people of the United States.

The day of the meeting is fitly chosen to recall the great, unprecedented, and enthusiastic uprising of the loyal masses of this nation for the maintenance of our government, our Constitution, and Union. Two years this war has been waged, and yet the national integrity has not been re-established; and more than ever is unity—open, bold, and unconditional loyalty—necessary to save the nation. But the last hope of the rebellion, a divided North, is fast waning before

the new uprising of the loyal people, who are reviving their pledges of support and loyalty to the government, and before whose earnest, true, and solemn words and resolves, lurking treason again must hide its head—as open, avowed treason will fall by loyal blows.

You will please enter my name as a member of the Loyal National League Firmly I shall stand by the pledge of its members.

Very respectfully yours,
EDWARD SALOMON.

JAMES A. ROOSEVELT,
Secretary of the Loyal National League, New York.

LETTER OF GOV. KIRKWOOD, OF IOWA.

IOWA CITY, *April* 7, 1863.

SIR: I very much regret that official engagements prevent my acceptance of your invitation to attend the mass meeting at Union Square, at your city, on the 11th inst.

Unconditional loyalty to the government of the United States, an unwavering support of its efforts to suppress the rebellion, and the sparing of no endeavor to maintain unimpaired the national unity, both in principle and territorial boundary, are duties so plain, and clear, and imperative, that the failure to perform them can, in my judgment, be attributed only to partisan political bigotry or disloyalty.

The gallant soldiers that Iowa has contributed to the national arms have testified their devotion to these duties on many a hard-fought and glorious battle-field; and our people at home, through their representatives in the state and national councils, present to treason and rebellion a front as determined, as compact and unbroken, as that maintained by their brothers before the enemy in arms.

The loyal men of Iowa are ready to strike hands with all men who fully recognize and faithfully perform their duties, and hold as traitors those who do not.

Very respectfully,
Your most obedient servant,
SAMUEL V. KIRKWOOD

JAMES A. ROOSEVELT, ESQ.,
Secretary Loyal National League.

REPLY ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNOR OF MINNESOTA.

STATE OF MINNESOTA, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
ST. PAUL, *April* 6, 1863.

SIR: Your communication of the 26th ult. to Governor Ramsey, now absent from the state on official business, has just been received.

I regret that Governor Ramsey is not here to reply in person to your invitation for him to address your League on the 11th instant. He most cordially and heartily approves of the object of your association, and, could he be present, would with pleasure take part in the proceedings of the inaugural mass meeting to be held at Union Square on Saturday next.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
ROBERT F. FISK, *Private Secretary.*

JAMES A. ROOSEVELT,
Secretary of the Loyal National League, New York.

LETTER OF HON. ISAAC N. ARNOLD, M. C. FROM ILLINOIS.

WASHINGTON, *April* 6, 1863.

SIR: I had the honor to receive your note of March 26, inviting me to address the mass meeting to be held under the auspices of the "Loyal National League," at Union Square, New York, on the 11th instant. I regret that it will not be in my power to attend; but, although I cannot be with you in person, I beg the privilege of joining with all patriotic citizens, everywhere and of every party, in the "solemn pledge and firm resolve that the *unity* of the nation shall not be impaired, either in principle or territorial boundary, and that the government of our fathers shall be maintained."

I have the proud satisfaction of representing a people occupying that portion of the country constituting the summit between the valley of the Mississippi and the Atlantic, so that the waters which fall to fertilize our soil, flow, on the one hand, into the Gulf of Mexico, and, on the other, into the St. Lawrence; hence the Union is to us a necessity. *The Northwest clasps in her one hand the East, and with the other she grasps the South; and she will hold the Union together.*

From the bombardment of Fort Sumter down to the present moment—through all the changes and vicissitudes of the contest, in victory and in defeat—the Northwest has never hesitated nor faltered. Unseduced and uninfluenced by the insidious appeals of peace-men and traitors, whether at Richmond or in New York, or in the West, the people have ever been steadfast, and determined that our *nationality* should continue in all its territorial integrity.

Those who have sought to sow the seeds of discord between the East and the West, those who have suggested that "*New England be left out in the cold,*" have been indignantly repudiated by the people, and especially by the gallant soldiers who are fighting for the old flag of our common country.

The soldiers of Illinois and New York, of New England and the West, mingling and fighting together on many a glorious and sanguinary field in this war for Liberty and the Constitution, will with their blood cement a Union and nationality so strong and deep that no traitor shall ever again disturb its harmony.

The constancy and courage of the American people, manifested in this contest, is one of the highest instances of moral sublimity on record. The grand idea which sustains the war is *our nationality.*

A free Continental Republic, ocean bounded, and extending from the Lakes to the Gulf, is the ideal of the American patriot. For this he deems it a privilege to fight, and, if need be, to die.

To the complete realization of this ideal Republic is the conviction becoming each day more and more clearly developed that *this Republic must be free.*

The rebellion is the suicide of Slavery. The death of slavery will be the regeneration of the nation. So be it. *Live the Republic; die Slavery.*

Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
ISAAC N. ARNOLD.

JAS. A. ROOSEVELT, Esq.,
Secretary of the Loyal National League.

LETTER OF HON. EDWARD HAIGHT, M. C. FROM NEW YORK.

NEW YORK, *April* 11, 1863.

DEAR SIR: It would give me unfeigned pleasure to be present at, and to take part in, the exercises of the meeting "en masse," in accordance with your kind invitation, did the state of my health admit it.

But though necessarily absent in body, I shall be present in spirit, and with as firm a resolve as will animate the breast of the most ardent patriot, to stand fast by our common country, till she is brought with honor through the fiery trial she is now called to undergo.

The formation of Loyal National Leagues was the happy thought of some patriot, whose regard for the fitness of things has been readily appreciated and caught up by the common sense of the people. What gives them their value is not alone that their members are renewedly pledged to maintain the national unity, for every loyal heart is *now*, *always*, and FOREVER pledged to stand up boldly and firmly against the enemies of his country, at home and abroad; but their value consists in bringing the loyalty of the country into bold relief; causing it, as it were, to stand out, the admiration of manhood, while it casts into midnight shade the traitorous bands who, within their gilded circle, have yet to learn what this meaneth—LOYALTY!

It is fitting, too, that for this great meeting the anniversary of the attack on Sumter should have been chosen. The recollection of that, and of the noble defence of the old flag by Major Anderson and his brave little band of patriot soldiers, quickens the pulse and nerves the arm of every patriot to avenge the dire insult, and vindicate our national honor and national unity before the world.

Then, with a firm trust in Providence—with men in our councils "who will not sell the truth to serve the hour"—with a commander honest, and of *firmness of purpose*—with generals who only "in the path of duty see the way to glory"—with our armies well tried, and in no sense proved wanting—we shall bruise the head of the serpent TREASON so effectually, that its crest will not again be raised to frighten weak and timid minds, who only know the meaning of the word COMPROMISE;—a consummation most devoutly to be wished, and in my view most certain of accomplishment.

I have the honor to be yours, very respectfully,

EDWARD HAIGHT.

JAMES A. ROOSEVELT, Esq.,
Secretary of the Loyal National League.

LETTER OF HON. H. L. DAWES, M. C. FROM MASSACHUSETTS.

NORTH ADAMS, Mass., *April 4th*, 1863.

SIR: I can be with you only in heart on the 11th inst., the second anniversary of that day on which traitors first made open war upon the republic, to make, in the presence of a patriotic nation, new pledges and fresh resolves that the unity of this government and people shall be perpetual. I would gladly join the throng who will go up to take your pledge on that day, or lift my voice to encourage or assure any doubting Thomas who has ears to hear.

As it is, you shall have my whole heart; and you can make no pledge I will not take as often as the sun rises. And when I die, if this war and the mother of it have not gone into a common grave, I will swear my children to perform it. This shall be my "*Delenda est Carthago.*" Any man, whoever he be, who will enter into a league with me that this common grave shall be dug, and that right speedily, with him I will lock arms; but the man who hesitates to make this covenant has already begun to be a traitor.

Thanking you for your kind invitation,

I am truly yours,

H. L. DAWES.

JAMES A. ROOSEVELT, Esq., *Secretary, &c.*

LETTER FROM LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SCOTT.

NEW YORK, *April* 8, 1863.

SIR: I feel myself honored by the special invitation to attend the Union meeting on the 11th inst., to renew to the government on that day (the anniversary of the attack on Fort Sumter) the solemn pledge to uphold the national authority and national unity.

With an undying attachment to the Union, to which I have given fifty odd years of my life, my heart will always be in all meetings called to sustain it; but probably I shall in person never again be present at another public assemblage, even for that noble purpose.

With great respect,

Your obedient servant,

WINFIELD SCOTT.

J. A. STEVENS, Jr., ESQ., *Chairman, &c.*

LETTER FROM H. W. HALLECK, GENERAL-IN-CHIEF OF THE AMERICAN ARMIES.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
WASHINGTON, *April 5th*, 1863.

SIR: I have received your invitation to attend a mass meeting of the Loyal National League in New York, on the 11th instant, and I regret that my official duties will prevent me from being present. I, however, fully approve of the object of the meeting, as set forth in your circular.

I think no man who has carefully observed the course of events in the rebel states, since the commencement of this war, can now hope for any other peace than that which is imposed by the bayonet. The loyal states must conquer this rebellion, or it will conquer them. Loyal men of all parties, and of all shades of political opinion, must unite in supporting the government of our fathers, or consent to see the glory and integrity of this great nation utterly destroyed by rebels and traitors. This rebellion cannot be put down by peaceful measures. Those who pretend to think so are either madmen or traitors in disguise. We must either conquer or submit to terms dictated by the Southern oligarchy. There is no other alternative. The great North and West, with their vastly superior numbers and means, can conquer, if they will act together. If, through factions and dissensions, they fail to do this, they will stand forever disgraced in the opinion of the world, and will transmit that disgrace to their posterity.

We have already made immense progress in this war—a greater progress than was ever before made under similar circumstances. Our armies are still advancing, and, if sustained by the voices of the patriotic millions at home, they will ere long crush the rebellion in the South, and then place their heels upon the heads of sneaking traitors in the North.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. W. HALLECK, *General-in-Chief.*

JAMES A. ROOSEVELT, *Secretary of the League, New York.*

LETTER OF MAJOR-GENERAL JOSEPH HOOKER, COMMANDING THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
April 9, 1863.

SIR: Acknowledging the receipt of an invitation to be present at a mass meeting of the loyal citizens of the United States, to be held at New York on

the 11th instant, I have occasion to regret that my duties will not permit me to be present at that important assemblage.

Permit me, however, to express my hearty sympathy with the objects and purposes of the proposed demonstration, and to desire that my name may be placed with those who so love their country, its Union, and its Constitution, as to be glad to renew pledges of loyalty and fealty as often as circumstances will demand. The frequent assembling together of our countrymen, for the purpose of counsel and interchange of thought upon the great national question of the day, is one of the useful and commendable duties of the times, which has my best wishes, as it has that of all honest and loyal men. The army which I have the honor to command is, I am proud to say, in such good heart, and in so excellent a condition, that I am warranted in pledging it to a gallant blow for the defence of our national unity and integrity whenever the enemy shall be met by the army of the Potomac.

That God may speed the cause of the Union and of popular liberty everywhere, is the hopeful aspiration of

Your obedient servant,

JOSEPH HOOKER,
Major-General commanding.

To James A. Roosevelt,
Secretary Loyal National League.

LETTER FROM MAJOR-GENERAL McDOWELL.

St. Louis, Mo., *April* 7, 1863.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th ult., inviting me to address the meeting of the Loyal National League in New York on the 11th inst.

I regret the duty on which I am now employed will not permit my being in New York on that occasion. The association has my sincere sympathy, and shall have my cordial support. I see the pledge does not differ, substantially, from the one I took some time since, and in a more formal and solemn manner even than is proposed by the League, and which I share with a million of others! I mean the *oath* taken by the army, by the privates as well as the generals, "to bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America, and to serve them honestly and faithfully against all their enemies and opposers whomsoever."

May not those who have taken this oath be regarded as virtually members of the National League—active members, who, to fulfil their pledge, have given up nearly all of their personal liberty, and most of whom are now sacrificing the material interests of themselves and their families?

It is mainly to the exertions of those active members that we must look for the suppression of this rebellion. Their labors and sacrifices will not be in vain, and the hope of the loyal will not be disappointed, if they and their successors are only sustained by those who remain at home.

Will it not be one of the objects of the League which is to be inaugurated on the 11th, to see that they and the national government are sustained, both through good report and through evil report—"in all times of their tribulation," as in all times of their "prosperity?"—for thus only can the nation finally have UNITY, *peace*, and *concord*,—peace and concord following, and only possible, after *unity*.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

Your most ob't servant,
IRVIN McDOWELL,
Major-General.

James A. Roosevelt, Esq.,
Secretary of the Loyal National League, New York.

LETTER OF MAJOR-GENERAL STONEMAN.

HEADQUARTERS CAVALRY CORPS,
Army of the Potomac, *April* 3, 1863.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of an invitation from the Loyal National League to unite with it in the ceremonies connected with its inauguration (in Union Square, New York city), on the anniversary of the day upon which the war upon the government was begun, in the bombardment of Fort Sumter.

Permit me to assure you that nothing would give me more unfeigned satisfaction than to be present upon the occasion, did duty to my country in another field permit my presence in your city at this time.

These are times which demand that every true soldier and lover of his country should be at his post, either battling with a powerful and arrogant foe in front, or crushing out an equally dangerous and more unprincipled foe at home; and it is hoped that the efforts of the League, amongst other things, may be directed toward holding up to execration those men who, under the shield of "free speech," seek to paralyze the earnest endeavors of those who are ready to offer up, as a willing sacrifice upon the altar of their beloved country, their lives and their all for the honor and the integrity of their nation and their nation's flag.

You can rest assured that if this army has a thorough hatred for the rebels in its front, it has an equal hatred, intensified by scorn, for traitors at home, and that we would hang the one with the same satisfaction that we would shoot the other.

We have nothing in common with Southern principles, and no patience with Northern sympathizers; and we warn them that the day will come when we will make it as uncomfortable for them to remain where they will then be as it would be dangerous for them to come where we now are.

With my best wishes for the successful accomplishment of the objects, as set forth in your letter, and the hope that I may be honored with the privilege of being considered a member of the Loyal National League, I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
GEORGE STONEMAN, *Major-General.*

JAMES A. ROOSEVELT,
Secretary Loyal National League, New York.

LETTER OF MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE.

HEADQUARTERS 5TH ARMY CORPS,
Camp near Falmouth, Va.,
April 2*d*, 1863.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th ult., inviting me to be present at a proposed meeting of the Loyal National League, to be held at Union Square, on the 11th inst., and, in the event of my inability to attend, asking for my views.

My duties with the army in the field, and the near approach of active operations, preclude the possibility of my presence on the occasion referred to; which I the more regret, because, cordially subscribing to the cardinal principles enunciated as the basis of your association, it would afford me much pleasure to co-operate with you in giving a public expression to the same.

My views, which you ask for, are very brief and simple. They are, that it is, and should be, the undoubted and unhesitating duty of every citizen of the republic to give his whole energies, and to contribute by all the means in his power, to the determined prosecution of the war, until the integrity of the gov-

ernment is re-established, and its supremacy acknowledged. Deprecating as useless all discussion as to the causes of the war, the fact of its existence, and the necessity for its continuance, should alone occupy us. For its successful prosecution and termination, I am clearly of the opinion there is only required union and harmony among ourselves, and the bringing to bear men and means proportionate to the power and resources of the country.

For the purpose of securing union and harmony, I know of no measure better calculated than the organization of your National Loyal League. Its broad and simple platform is one to which citizens of all parties can readily subscribe; and I have no doubt its effect will be most salutary in proving, to those who are in arms to subvert the government, that, whatever differences of opinion may exist on minor points, upon the main point of there being but one government and one flag, we are determined and united.

Wishing you every success in your patriotic object, I have to assure you, for myself and those under my command, that we do not hesitate "to pledge ourselves to unconditional loyalty to the government of the United States—to an unswerving support of its efforts to suppress the rebellion, and to spare no endeavor to maintain unimpaired the national unity, both in principle and territorial boundary."

I have the honor to be, sir,
Most respectfully, your obed't serv't,
GEO. G. MEADE,
Maj. Gen. of Vol's.

JAS. A. ROOSEVELT, Esq.,
Secretary Loyal National League, New York.

LETTER FROM MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN A. DIX.

No. 3 WEST TWENTY-FIRST STREET,
NEW YORK, *April* 10, 1863.

SIR: I am here for a few days only, and it is not in my power to accept your invitation to attend and address the mass meeting to be held in Union Square to-morrow; but I take great pleasure in expressing to you, for such use as you may think fit, my views in regard to the contest which is convulsing the country. It is nearly two years since I addressed a mass meeting of the citizens of New York where yours is to be held. The contest had just then commenced, and we pledged to the country our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor, to sustain the government in carrying it on. The battle of Fort Sumter had been fought; some of its brave defenders were with us; the tattered flag, which they had upheld till they had been conquered by famine, and not by the steel of their treacherous countrymen, was waving over us.

Seven states had declared themselves out of the Union: in some of them even without the formality of such a declaration. Our mints, forts, and revenue vessels, had been forcibly seized and appropriated by the insurgents to the prosecution of their treasonable purposes. In Baltimore our troops, hastening to the defence of the Capital, had been shot down in the public streets. It was under these circumstances that we assembled to declare that this insurrection against the government, founded upon no just cause—the offspring of ambition, and of a long-concerted scheme of national disorganization, must be put down; that it was due to our fathers, our children, our country, and the cause of public order throughout the world, that this example of selfishness and bad faith should not go down to future generations hallowed by success to inspirit the machinations of false men, and to dishearten the friends of good government.

When I say this insurrection against the government is without just cause, I do not overlook the fact that there has been much in sectional movements and objects to excite irritation; and no one has condemned these movements and objects more strongly than myself.

But the origin of this insurrection is of earlier date, and founded in more deeply-seated causes. The hostility to the Union of which it is the fruit, was first developed in the nullification movement of 1832. It contemplated then what it is contending for now—a forcible separation of the states. When Gen. Jackson, by his extraordinary sagacity, saw its secret purpose, and by his indomitable courage put it down, he declared that the conspiracy was only suspended, that it would be renewed at some future time, on the question of slavery, which would be made a pretext for the dissolution of the Union. The history of the last quarter of a century manifests the truth of his prophecy. The object has never for a moment been out of view. The Southern mind has been educated in hostility to the Union, and in favor of a separate confederacy, with slavery as the basis of its organization; and the Southern states, with few exceptions, a majority of them unwillingly, have been led by management, and at length driven by violence, into open, forcible, armed rebellion against a government to which they were parties by a compact as sacred as any that ever existed between communities or men. If the Southern states had by their representatives met peacefully in convention; if they had calmly and with unanimity expressed their desire to withdraw from the Union, and had declared their inability from incompatibility of interest, temper, or political opinion, to live in harmony with us, it would have been an appeal which we could not well have resisted; but when all deference to our justice and good feeling, all consideration of our rights, are contemptuously disregarded, when the public arms, forts, treasures, and arsenals, are unscrupulously seized; when that which could only have been properly the result of negotiation and agreement, is sought to be gained by fraud, or extorted by violence; and when the national flag, endeared to us by the blood of our ancestors, and by victories unnumbered on the sea and the land, is insulted and trampled under foot, there is but one course for just, brave, and honorable men, and that is to defend the government, the Union, and the national integrity, if need be, to the last dollar of our treasure and the last drop of our blood. It is painful—I will not say it is discouraging—to find any difference of opinion among us on this subject. I have felt not only grieved, but mortified by the recent peace movements at the North. I am amazed that any one can suppose they can have any other result than to give courage and confidence to the insurgents, or that there is any hope of success on our part but in a steady and unshrinking prosecution of the war. The insurgent leaders will accept nothing less than a recognition of the independence of the Confederate States. They will not even negotiate with us until that point is conceded. Their efforts were never more desperate than they are now. They have brought into the field, by conscription, nearly every man capable of bearing arms. Our divisions have inspired them with fresh hopes, and have given new point to their hostility. The tone of their leading presses is higher, and the demands of their leaders more extravagant, than they were before the peace movements commenced. A peace on any terms with men animated by such a spirit would be a mere suspension of hostilities, to be renewed with greater advantages on their part, and with more embittered feelings of hatred. If there ever was a contest that needed to be fought out, it is this. The men who have dragged the people of the South into this insurrection against a government over which they have had, for three quarters of a century, a leading control, which has never visited them with a single act of oppression or injustice, must be overthrown before we can have any peace which would not be a precursor of fiercer war; war which would inevitably transfer to our own territory the ravages which have desolated theirs. If those who, to quote their own idle and delusive phrase, are engaged in "the prosecution of peace," could look

on this spectacle of deserted fields which were once teeming with the fruit of a bounteous agriculture; of groves and forests levelled to the ground; of houses stripped of their covering so as to be no longer habitable, and of families broken up, dispersed, and homeless; in a word, if they could see with their own eyes the prevading desolation which two armies, one of friends and the other of foes, have wrought out in widely-extended districts, they would be convinced that there is no present hope but in continued war—war which should strip of their power the authors of all this devastation—vigorous and decisive war as a prelude to a stable peace. War is the only means by which the same horrors can be kept from our own firesides. Desperate as the struggle has been, there is nothing in the past which should discourage us.

We must not disguise the magnitude of the contest, or of the efforts and sufferings to be endured.

There is more blood to be shed, more treasure to be expended, more hard-fought battle-fields to be won. These are considerations to inspire us with patriotism and courage—not to overwhelm us with discouragement and despair. There are crises in the life of every nation by which its spirit and character are tested. Such a crisis is upon us; we are to demonstrate whether the love of country or the love of ease predominates in us, and under circumstances which would make defeat indelible disgrace.

We have two millions of people capable of bearing arms; the insurgents have but half a million. Our foreign commerce, our domestic industry—in a word, our labor, in all its extended channels, is comparatively undisturbed. Their communications by sea are cut off—their agriculture is paralyzed in its most profitable branches, and it is becoming a question whether, with nearly the entire white male adult population withdrawn from the field of producive industry, food enough can be provided for their absolute wants. Almost without manufactures there is a fearful prospect of destitution in nearly all those fabrics which are essential to bodily comfort and health. The prices paid for them are almost incredible. This enhancement of values is not merely a consequence of the depreciation of the currency, but it is even more the result of scarcity combined with an imperious demand which cannot be adequately supplied. This dearth will continue, and with increased intensity. That it will be much longer endured by the great body of the people I do not believe; Indeed, I am satisfied that the insurgent army at this moment would crumble to pieces but for the arbitrary power by which it is controlled. The highest impulses that ever roused a great people to action are ours. Never was presented to a nation such a choice of blessings to be achieved, or evils to be averted.

On the one side there is national glory and prosperity, the inheritance of an unsullied name, the renown of ancestors to be transmitted to their children, the achievements of years that are past, the promise of years that are to come, the security from internal disruption, only to be effected by maintaining the Union unbroken; all these are the stakes for which we are contending. On the other hand, there is public dishonor, reproach to the good name of those who have gone before and of those who are to come after, an example of pusillanimity to make children blush for their fathers; national dissolution and an element of disintegration engrafted on our political system which will break us into fragments, and make us the sport of internal ambition and disorder, and of foreign cupidity and violence. These are the great evils we are struggling to avert; and if, through our want of courage, our internal divisions, and our unwillingness to make sacrifices for the preservation of our government, we cannot rise to the level of our responsibilities and duties, the part we shall have borne in this contest will go down to future ages as one of the most disgraceful examples of demoralization in the annals of our race. I look with unshaken confidence to the great body of the people for deliverance from impending evils—for the courage, the constancy, the disinterestedness, and the indifference to personal sacrifices necessary to restore to us the Union, with

strength augmented by the severity of the trial through which it will have passed.

I am, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
JOHN A. DIX.

JAMES A. ROOSEVELT, Esq.
Secretary National League.

LETTER OF MAJOR-GENERAL SILAS CASEY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 6, 1863.

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 3d inst., conveying an invitation on behalf of the National League is received. I regret that my duties are such that I cannot accept your polite invitation to be present at your meeting on the 11th inst.

The formation and principles of your League meet with the concurrence of my understanding, and with the approbation of my heart.

It is meet and proper that you should have for your meeting the anniversary of the day when the glorious flag of our country was so foully dishonored by traitors in arms.

The issue of the contest in which we are now engaged, involves interests of momentous importance—the destinies of unborn millions. If, from disloyalty, or neglect of duty on our part, this rebellion succeeds, our free institutions are gone. We may keep up a disjointed national existence of some kind—but the free institutions which have been handed down to us, and which are the glory of our Republic, will have been sunk in the night of ages. If true to ourselves, we may expect the aid of a just and kind Creator, for He has no attributes which would aid in founding, on the ruins of a free republic, an empire, whose cornerstone is human slavery.

Momentous history is being enacted about us; and in view of its all-absorbing importance, let us swear on the altar of our country that we will never relax our efforts until its glorious flag shall wave over every foot of its soil.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
SILAS CASEY,
Major-General Volunteers.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS, Jr.,
National League Committee.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL REYNOLDS.

HEADQUARTERS 1st ARMY CORPS,
Army of the Potomac, *April*, 4, 1863.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your request to join the inaugural mass meeting to be held in New York city by the Loyal National League on the anniversary of the day on which the war against the government was begun in the South.

I regret that my duties here will preclude the possibility of my being present on an occasion of such interest to every pure patriot.

With every expression of interest in the sentiments and objects of the meeting, and hoping all success may attend the efforts of the association,

I remain, very respectfully,
Your ob't servant,
JOHN F. REYNOLDS,
Maj. Gen. Volunteers.

JAMES A. ROOSEVELT, Esq.,
Secretary Loyal National League, New York.

LETTER OF MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN E. WOOL.

HEADQUARTERS, NEW YORK,
April 9, 1863.

MY DEAR SIR: I received your kind invitation to attend the Union League meeting anticipated on Saturday next, for which you have many thanks. I regret that it will not be in my power to attend.

Business of importance connected with my department calls me to the North. I, however, will be with you in thought and spirit.

Very truly yours,
JOHN E. WOOL.

To JOHN A. STEVENS, JR., *Chairman*.

LETTER OF CARL SCHURZ, MAJOR-GENERAL IN THE U. S. ARMY.

DEAR SIR: The invitation to be present at, or to write a letter to, the great meeting of the League at New York, reached me only to-day. I found it on my return from Washington. How it happened that I did not receive it in time I do not know. I would, indeed, not have been able to be present, but I would have gladly availed myself of that occasion to give an expression of my sentiments in writing.

I write you this in order to let you know that my silence was not owing to any neglect on my part. I shall always be happy to contribute my little mite to the success of the good cause, whenever a fit occasion presents itself.

Very truly yours,
C. SCHURZ.

LETTER OF GEN. JAMES S. WADSWORTH, OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.

HEADQUARTERS, FIRST DIVISION, FIRST CORPS,
April 8, 1863.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your circular inviting me to attend a mass meeting in Union Square on the 11th instant, the anniversary of the attack on Fort Sumter.

I regret that my duties here will not allow me to assemble with you on that occasion, to renew, with the loyal citizens who will there congregate, the solemn and earnest vows which every true patriot has taken, to stand by his government and his flag in this hour of our greatest trial.

In common, so far as I know, with every soldier in the army, I have witnessed with deep gratification the formation of Loyal Leagues in the loyal states, and the fresh and fervent outburst of patriotic sentiment among the people. That this should occur after the incidence of heavy taxation had been felt, and homes in every quarter had been made desolate by the havoc of war, is a sufficient proof that the nation has risen to a just appreciation of the magnitude of the issue; that it feels that not only territorial integrity, but honor and freedom, are at stake.

A proud, but base and selfish oligarchy, reared in a social system which does all a social system can do to deprave the heart, pervert the understanding, and develop only a brutal passion for dominion, has attempted to overthrow our government and divide our country. With such a foe, there can be no compromise, no concession, no half-way course. We must fight it out, and conquer, or be conquered.

The annals of the past record no greater or nobler struggle. Thousands of years will not obliterate the history of the events in which we are taking part; and whether, in all that time, we shall be pointed to as the degenerate sons of noble sires, or as the worthy inheritors of the freedom they achieved, will depend upon ourselves.

I can truly say, that with unlimited faith in the patriotism and intelligence of the people, in the courage of our troops, and in the justice of our cause, I have not now and never had, any fears as to the final result.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

JAMES S. WADSWORTH.

JAMES A. ROOSEVELT, Esq., *Secretary.*

LETTER OF ADMIRAL PAULDING.

NAVY YARD,
NEW YORK, *April* 9, 1863.

MY DEAR SIR: My thanks are due to the Committee for the unmerited compliment of inviting me to speak, or express my views on the occasion of the great assemblage of the Union League, to meet at Union Square on the 11th inst.

There are many of our distinguished citizens who will fill the rostrum with greater ability than I can; and so far as my views may interest society, I am happy to convey them on an occasion, and with an object of so much importance, as our patriotic citizens have in view. All men, worthy to live under a government like ours, are bound to support the administration in a vigorous prosecution of the war, whilst a rebel is found in arms, at any and every sacrifice of life and treasure; and all who, by word or deed, shall give aid and comfort to the enemy, should promptly meet the punishment due to treason. No cause was ever more sacred than ours, and none can be more wicked, or a greater outrage upon humanity, than that of the rebels. Ours is the cause of civilization and rational freedom, of truth, honor, religion, and justice. That of the rebels may be characterized by every epithet that belongs to his Satanic Majesty, whose motto, "Better to rule in hell, than serve in heaven," they have essentially adopted.

We are fighting for our country, our homes; for the wise and beneficent government of our fathers, and the last hope of freedom for the civilized world. The rebels made the rebellion to establish an odious despotism, cemented and sustained by the obscene element of human bondage, the most extravagant assumption of bad men in any age, or that ever stained the hands of men calling themselves Christians, with blood. We all know all this to be true, and yet we have the incredible phenomena of treason amongst us, bold and defiant, openly plotting to arrest the strong arm of the government, raised to shield the life of the nation.

Would it not be wise to thrust from our midst this pestiferous evil, and ask for prompt legislation, if the laws will not reach the traitors and the treason that contaminates society, giving aid and comfort to the rebels, and misleading simple-minded partisans? Would it not be wise to provide for the banishment, incarceration, and fine of these men, and no less mischievous women, who infest our cities, conveying information and supplies to traitors who seek the lives of our gallant soldiers upholding the cause of our country?

When we have disposed of our domestic enemies, a more distant one will claim our attention; and in regard to this we cannot act too promptly. If we are not on the eve of a war, it is because our old enemy and commercial rival has not perfected his policy; and I am speaking the language of sober truth in saying, that if suitable preparation is not promptly made, our plundered cities may soon light up the land as our ships blaze upon the ocean. The pirate "Alabama," or "290" English Merchants, is no more a rebel steamer than though she had never displayed the rebel emblem. She has never been in a rebel port. She was built, fitted, armed, and manned with English seamen in England, and is, to all intents and purposes, an English pirate upon our commerce. Many more ships, of a formidable character, are being prepared in English dock-yards, to be sent abroad in the same way and upon the same errand. We cannot silently submit to this; and if we could, we cannot escape the evident hostility. It may be well to consider whether it would not be better for us to have war with England, than thus to be her victim. Our com-

merce is swept from the ocean by her seamen, while her merchants enjoy the harvest her perfidious spoliation has created.

England never failed to cripple a rival when she could do it with impunity, and now, when this rebellion is upon us, she lights the ocean with our ships, in full security that her domestic altars peacefully glimmer on her shores. I trust the nation will no longer submit to this insulting plunder, but rise to the dignity of manhood; and claiming immunity from further outrage, let her feel the vengeance of a gallant people, if the necessity shall be forced upon us.

I am, sir, with sincere respect,
Your obedient servant,
H. PAULDING,
Rear Admiral and Commandant.

LETTER OF A. D. BACHE, U. S. COAST SURVEY.

Sir: Public duties prevent me from leaving Washington at this time. I take the opportunity which your invitation gives to express my hearty sympathy with you in your sentiments of unconditional loyalty, in your efforts for the suppression of the rebellion—in your endeavors for National Unity.

I am bound with you in feeling and action for the maintenance of the "power, glory, and integrity of the nation," and feel with you that the Republic in its extent, its government, its laws—the Union of our youth and maturity—our country, is worth the entire sacrifice of all that we have, and of all that we are; is alone worth living for and dying for.

Respectfully, yours.
A. D. BACHE.

James A. Roosevelt, Esq.,
Secretary of the Loyal National League.

LETTERS OF THE REV. DR. VINTON, OF NEW YORK.

Trinity Church, New York,
March 30th, 1863.

My Dear Sir: I shall not be able to participate in the inaugural mass meeting of the Loyal League by speaking; but be assured of my deep interest and earnest fellowship in all efforts to unite our countrymen in suppressing the rebellion, and reinforcing the allegiance of all citizens to the Constitution of the United States.

I remain very truly, dear sir,
Your obedient servant,
FRANCIS VINTON.

James A. Roosevelt, Esq., *Secretary.*

Trinity Church,
New York, *April* 8, 1863.

My dear Sir: I beg to acknowledge the invitation of the Committee of the Loyal National League to address the meeting of citizens on the anniversary of the rebel assault on Fort Sumter. Being disabled from speaking in the open air, I avail myself of your alternative, of writing to my countrymen.

It has appeared to me that the complaint against the federal authorities, that in the prosecution of this war they have violated the Constitution of the United States, is a grave misapprehension. *The Constitution has been developed, not*

violated. This is the proposition which I would demonstrate and maintain. The last Congress and this administration have doubtless inaugurated measures, by-laws, and edicts, unprecedented; but the civil war which has exacted them is unprecedented.

The Constitution was framed by our wise fathers for the exigencies of War as well as of Peace. It would indeed be impotent to accomplish the grand purposes of government, proclaimed in the Preamble, unless it conferred war powers. For while "Union" is impaired by rebellion, and "justice" defied by arms, and "domestic tranquillity" disturbed by disloyalty and treason, how is Union to be "perfected," or justice "established," or tranquillity "insured," by the Constitution, but by war powers in the Constitution? How did "the people of the United States" propose to "provide for the common defence, and promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity," by ordaining and establishing the "Constitution of the United States of America," unless by incorporating war powers in their fundamental law? By *developing* these constitutional provisions, the President and Congress have acquired an historical pre-eminence, rivalled only by the Convention of our forefathers which framed them, the states which adopted them, and the Congress which organized the government.

The administration of President Washington and the administration of President Lincoln will stand side by side in historical fame. The one has displayed the vigor of the Constitution which the other set on foot.

Look at the *Habeas Corpus* question. President Lincoln has acted on the hypothesis that the privilege of the writ of *Habeas Corpus* is suspended, by ordering the arrest and imprisonment of persons suspected of disloyalty to the country, and of giving aid to the rebellion.

The constitutional provision respecting *Habeas Corpus* is remarkable. It is negative. It is as follows: "The privilege of the writ of *Habeas Corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it." (Art., I. sec. 9, § 2.) It is ranged in the catalogue of the disabilities of Congress. So far as it is positive, it prohibits the suspension of the privilege of the writ of *Habeas Corpus* in time of peace. And it declares that in cases of rebellion or invasion, it shall be suspended if the public safety requires it. Rebellion or invasion, *ipso facto*, suspends it, for the sake of the public safety. The question for the authorities of government to determine, is simply—"Does rebellion or invasion so exist as to jeopard 'the public safety'?"

The public safety means the lawful liberty of the mass of individuals. The privilege of the writ of *Habeas Corpus* is the privilege of personal liberty under law of an individual in spite of arbitrary power. Does rebellion or invasion so prevail as to endanger the lawful liberty or rights of the mass of persons. If so, the privilege of the writ of *Habeas Corpus*, to individuals, is suspended by the Constitution out of regard to the rights of the public. But what authorities of the government are to determine when the public safety demands the suspension of the writ? They who maintain that Congress has this prerogative argue upon the analogy of English precedent. But the analogy does not hold. For Parliament enacted the law of *Habeas Corpus*, and, therefore, Parliament alone may suspend the law. But Congress did not enact the law of *Habeas Corpus*, and, therefore, it is not requisite that Congress should suspend it. And, moreover, there is is no example of Parliament suspending the privilege of the writ of *Habeas Corpus*. It remains unrepealed and untouched on the statute book ever since the reign of Charles II. And yet the privilege of the writ has been frequently suspended when the public safety required it. The King, by advice of the Privy Council, has arrested and imprisoned disloyal persons, without authority of Parliament. And the uniform course has prevailed of an *act of indemnity* by Parliament, discharging all persons from guilt who had any agency in arresting suspected person and denying them the privilege of *Habeas Corpus*.

Earl Russell has stated in the House of Lords this distinction between the Law of England and the Constitution of the United States. They who would fetch these arguments against the President from England would better approve the act of the late Congress indemnifying the President. But, under our Constitution, there was no need of the act of indemnity; for if the Constitution, itself, suspends the writ of *Habeas Corpus* in cases of rebellion or invasion, when the public safety may require it, the question is narrowed to the inquiry whether rebellion or invasion is a fact.

In the present condition of the country, no one can be found of hardihood to deny that rebellion is a fact, and that the public safety requires the suppression of the rebellion.

But the demand is made: "Why should the President be the judge when the exigency exists?" The answer to this demand is made by Mr. Horace Binney, whose statement and argument on this question are not to be refuted. He shows that the judge of the exigency is not the Supreme Court, not Congress, but the Executive. The President alone makes oath to "preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States." The Judiciary are out of the question, since this power of government is the one with whom any controversy on the question may happen, and it cannot be judge in its own case. The Congress may not judge if the exigency, for Congress may not be in session; and though in session, the power to judge is neither expressly nor by implication given to Congress. The Executive remains to enforce the provision of the Constitution, by virtue both of necessity and of his oath.

The privilege of the writ of *Habeas Corpus* is a privilege for the conservation of personal liberty in time of peace. In cases of rebellion or invasion, the personal liberty of thousands is threatened, and, therefore, the suspension of the privilege of the writ to an individual suspected as an enemy is in obedience to the right to liberty of many individuals and the safety of the public.

This war has thus developed the Constitution, according to the meaning of its authors, and has shown that this reverend document embodies a *Government*, for the protection of loyal persons, and for their preservation as a nation, whether against foreign or domestic foes.

The privilege of the writ in time of peace, and the suspension of the privilege in cases of rebellion or invasion, alike guarantee personal liberty to the loyal in the land.

Consider, next, The Finance Laws of the Thirty-seventh Congress.

These, too, develop the Constitution of the United States. The purpose and effect of these laws are to establish a uniform national currency; to equalize exchange among the states; to establish a representative of values, grounded on the credit of the federal government, and thus to interest every man, who owns a dollar, in the permanency of the Union, and to engage him in its support. The appeal to patriotism is reinforced by the pocket, which is a very sensitive nerve in the body politic; while each bank bill, like the coin of the United States, is a symbol and monitor of the national sovereignty.

The Constitution, undoubtedly, intended to confine the regulation of the currency to the federal authorities exclusively, and to prohibit the states from any independent legislation on this subject. And the people of each state, by adopting the Constitution of the United States as the supreme law in the state, paramount to their own state constitution and laws (See Art. VI., § 2, Con. U. S.), have deliberately established the supremacy of the federal government over the currency of the nation.

The Constitution of the United States gives Congress power "to coin money, regulate the value thereof and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures," (Art. I., sect. 8, § 8). This provision, alone, covers the broad question of representatives of value in commerce. The provision (Art. I., sect. 8, § 2) empowers Congress "to borrow money on the credit of the United States." But the Constitution nowhere requires the federal government to make nothing but silver and gold a tender in payment of debts.

On the other hand the Constitution of the United States prohibits each state from interfering with the national sovereignty over finanae and commercial standards of value. "No state shall coin money, emit bills of credit, or make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts.." (Art. 1, sect. 10, § 1.)

Nevertheless, State Legislatures are accustomed to charter banks, with authority to issue "bills of credit" in the shape of bank bills, and to permit banks to suspend specie payments, as at the present time.

For more than seventy years, the currency of the United States has consisted chiefly of the bills of local banks, which have enjoyed par value only within local precincts, beyond which they are depreciated at a greater or less discount, and often are valueless as a medium of exchange. The country has suffered by these disorders of finance. Nothing it plainer than the proposition, that no authority may justly empower agents to do indirectly what the superior authority prohibits it from doing directly. The axiom obtains "*Qui facet per alium, facet per se.*" The act of the agent is the act of the principal.

But the assumed power of State Legislatures to charter banks of issue, has been acquiesced in by the people, as a convenience, in the absence of a national currency, until prescription has acquired accumulating force in favor of local banks, rendering the inauguration of the national currency more and more difficult. The particular interests of stockholders, the immense privileges of directors, the facilities enjoyed by traders, the habits of the people, and the rivalries of states, have combined to resist the right of Congress to "emit bills of credit," and establish an uniform currency for the nation.

No power but the exigencies of the nation, produced by this unhallowed rebellion, it seems to me, would be strong enough to conquer the influences conspiring to prevent the establishment of a national currency, in accordance with the Constitution of the United States, that eventually would supersede the unconstitutional local currency.

And, therefore, this war for national union has developed the Constitution of the United States in evincing the sovereignty of the Federal Government over finance, and has thus knit tighter the bonds of union, and proclaimed afresh that the United States are a nation. With the Government securities in public and private chests, and the Government currency in every man's purse, there will grow up a familiarity with the sovereignty of the Federal Government and a patriotic determination to maintain it. Wherever the citizen travels in this vast domain of the United States, he carries with him the money of the Constitution as he is everywhere protected by its flag.

In the next place, notice the Conscription *Act of Congress.* The Constitution is developed in its provisions for national defence, in showing that the power of the sword is given to the central power, and that therefore we are a nation.

Congress has authority "to raise and support armies, to provide and maintain a navy, to make rules for the government of the land and naval forces, to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions, to provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress." (Art. I., Sect. 8, §§ 12, 13, 14, 15, 16.)

When the barons in the middle-ages led their retainers to battle, the vassals obeyed their lord rather than the king. Jealousies and rivalries and strife ensued. The campaign was frequently frustrated and brought to naught by these dissensions. Not until the prerogative of calling forth and commanding the baronial forces was lodged exclusively in the chief baron, did the various dependencies acquire the consisteney of a nation. After the sovereignty of the king was thus established, the nation was at unity in itself, and civilization leaped forward to fresh exploits.

The analogy to our own country is palpable. State rights and the federal sovereignty have frequently come into collision. The authority of the central government to enrol and draft the citizens of the republic, has been questioned and hindered. A volunteer army was deemed best, and bounties have been liberally offered and accepted to swell the depleted ranks of regiments in the field, as well as to constitute new forces. The miserable effect of that experiment is to make soldiers mere hirelings, under the false name of volunteers; to induce desertion in order to enlist in other regiments, for the sake of the bounty; to suggest to the soldier that he may act according to his own will; to suppress the sense of subjection to authority, to impair every military instinct, and to degrade and keep out of mind the supreme right of the government to command the service of any and every citizen who enjoys the protection of the government.

I need not enlarge on the evidence of these efforts, nor further allude to the jealousies of the state authorities, nor indulge in denunciations of the demagogues who have been vociferous in discouraging the conscription.

It is sufficient to say that the Conscription Laws of the Thirty-seventh Congress are framed in view of all these impediments and prejudices. The execution of them will demonstrate the sovereignty of the Constitution of the United States. The soldiers which they create will be soldiers indeed, who, entering the army in obedience to authority, will, from the start, learn to obey the stern requisitions of military rule, and will constitute an army governed by one will, moved by one plan, and marched to victory.

For one, I rejoice in the Conscription Laws, as the edicts of that sovereignty on which our Union and our nationality depend. I anticipate the suppression of the rebellion, under the potency of the laws, which have developed the Constitution of the United States as the ægis of our liberties, under law, and as the sovereign of the nation.

There is no danger from the tyranny of our rulers, for the election of them recurs to the people at short periods. But while they are in power, let them be rulers and not subjects. Let us unite to sustain them in their lawful prerogatives, and swear anew to support the glorious Constitution which endows them with authority, and defends our rights. The Loyal National League is designed to invigorate and refresh our patriotism. It is like the Carthagenian father, who imposed the oath on his son, never to cease warfare until the Romans were overcome. So we renew our oaths, that, while this unnatural rebellion shall not die by its own hand, but erects its defiant standard against the Flag of our Union, we will never cease to combat it till it is destroyed and shamed into infamy.

Your obedient servant,

FRANCIS VINTON.

To James A. Roosevelt, Esq., *Secretary, &c.*

LETTER OF REV. THOS. E. VERMILYE.

20 East 37th street, *March* 31, 1863.

Sir: I have just received the letter of the Loyal National League inviting me to address an inaugural mass meeting, to be held at Union Square, on the 11th of April next—the anniversary of the day upon which the war upon the government was commenced in the bombardment of Fort Sumter.

Most cordially do I approve the principles of the League as declared in your letter; and I feel highly honored by the invitation you have sent me. Two years ago it was my privilege to officiate as one of the chaplains at the great mass meeting on Union Square, immediately after the fall of Fort Sumter, and to address our fellow-citizens in regard to our duty in the exigency which rebellion had brought us into, and again I will readily unite with my fellow-citizens and raise my voice for the unconditional support of our noble government, and for unconditional, uncompromising war with treason and rebellion.

Our happy country, humanity and religion—the present and the future—all are interested.

I accept the invitation with which you have honored me, to address the meeting, and am,

Very respectfully yours,
THOS E. VERMILYE.

J. A. ROOSEVELT, Esq., *Secretary, &c.*

LETTER OF REV. O. B. FROTHINGHAM.

No. 113 WEST THIRTY-FOURTH STREET,
March 31*st*, 1863.

MY DEAR SIR: I appreciate at its full value the invitation extended to me to be one of the speakers at the mass meeting to be held on Union Square, April 11th, and I would gladly respond to it with a promise to say something, if I had not been sorely troubled, for more than a month, with a bronchial inflammation, which makes all public speaking difficult and painful, and would make out-of-door speaking all but impossible.

Ever since I was a very young man, I have been a sturdy and uncompromising abolitionist, and nothing has occurred in these latter days to diminish the intensity of my conviction that slavery is the one root of bitterness and the one root of evil in this country. To it, and to nothing else, I trace the dreadful conflict in which we are engaged. In its utter extinction I find the only ground of hope for—not the "restoration of the Union," since union, in any worthy or intelligent sense, we never have enjoyed—but for the *creation* of union—the inauguration of constitutional authority—the birth of a truly national spirit, and the assurance of a firm and enduring peace. In my view, the war will end in nothing but impotency and disgrace, unless it ends in the elimination of the system of slavery, and the establishment of republican institutions in every part of the country; but I am also deeply persuaded that the war, if vigorously pushed, must end in this, as we see that it leads to this, implies this, involves this, effects this, at every step in its prosecution. The tread of the Union army unsettles the very foundation of the slave power; the presence of the Union army is the presence of the northern civilization and of the genius of the century; the occupation of the Union army is a sign that the black "Othello's occupation's gone." The only head there is to hit is the head of an aristocracy whose basis is the ownership of man—whose armorial badge is a whip; and every blow on that head is a blow for the dignity of man—for the rights of labor—for civil equality, social harmony, education, morality, and happiness. I am, therefore, an advocate of the most earnest and terrible prosecution of the war—of the most earnest support of the administration in its efforts to carry the war successfully on—of the most earnest pressure of the administration toward more determined endeavors in its prosecution. I will not quarrel with men respecting the motives, intents, wishes, purposes, policies, they cherish in connection with the war's conduct. Let them only *conduct* the war as war, in war's garb, on war principles, war fashion, and the Powers above them will take care of the war's issue.

I am, therefore, heart and conscience, with your Loyal National League; with the loyalty of it, the nationality of it, the manly and generous allegiance of it. To have reached this point of union for the prosecution of the war is an immense advance on any point hitherto reached in our struggle. It is a gain of moral strength to be devoutly grateful for; and it hints at other gains more noble still—at no less a gain, in fact, than union for the maintenance of peace, liberty, equality, fraternity.

With respect I am,

Very cordially yours,
O. B. FROTHINGHAM.

JAMES A. ROOSEVELT, *Secretary, &c.*

LETTER OF REV. SAMUEL HANSON COX.

4 East Thirtieth street,
New York, *March* 31, 1863.

Respected Sir: In reply, may I say, that he who owns no *notion* as *his* deserves to be owned by none; and as such to be excommunicated from the sublunary universe. He who, in *this nation*, is so sordid, so ignorant, so idiotic, as to have appreciative enthusiasm *in no degree* towards our own *e pluribus unum*, our *many states in one nation;* towards our own *national arch*, of which the magnificence, all studded with *stars*, has no parallel in the world; such a man deserves not the honors, nor even the protection—I had almost said, at home or abroad—of citizenship as an American! No, sir, we have *too many such* amorphous specimens among us, whose presence and influence could be of real value to no really noble cause, anywhere! Hence, this noble nation may be stabbed to the heart by the matricides of the South, and might bleed and die, without affecting the sensibility or eliciting the grief either of these pseudo-patriots in our country or of their sympathizers anywhere; that hate, about equally, *the duties and the rights of man*, provided their own impunity may be left inaccessible and absolute.

But I like the summons to all true men, that they show themselves in a *Loyal National League*, as true sons of such a noble mother; as the virtual confreres of Washington and his compatriots of the Revolution, achieving our national existence; as, under God, they did; and then organized its freedom and its unity as a mighty nation; with a Constitution of wonder and of worth; to which was due, and almost ungrudgingly tendered, the admiration of mankind.

Our League is a symbol national, which posterity will quote with joy, which history shall record with pleasure, and which the world can read and interpret with reverence unfeigned. I am an *American of the Americans;* and to all my issue, born and to be born, I say first, *love your Redeemer;* second, *love your country!* This, from that, the result.

I am now an old man, if my seventieth year can so define me; no office-hunter; no partisan; neither bought nor sold, nor in the market. But, if I know myself, I love my country, my species, my fellow-citizens; the cause of civilization, learning, good manners, rational liberty universal; the duties and the rights of all mankind; this, as the result of my birth and nurture in this land; of some extensive inspection and comparison of this with other lands; most of all for more than fifty years, if I mistake not, of knowing and loving the only living and true God; who made us all; will judge us all; and bless and save all who truly love and obey him. I hope to live and die, praying for his Kingdom to come; for my country to stay; and grow, greater and better, till the second coming of my Saviour, the Son of man! thus finishing all mundane history.

With high consideration and respect, your compatriot and friend,

SAMUEL HANSON COX.

P. S.—On the 11th of April I hope to be with you and say something if desired, or as you already request.

James A. Roosevelt, Esq.,
Sec. Loyal National League,
94 Maiden Lane, New York.

LETTER OF REV. BENJAMIN W. DWIGHT.

New York, *April* 1, 1863.

Dear Sir: No declaration can be more true than that he who falters in devotion to his country in this the hour of its greatest peril, is proved thereby utterly unworthy of any birthright or inheritance in it. It is one of the highest of all forms of duty to God and the human race to love and serve our country at all times, and especially when it most needs and expects our assistance. One of the basest of all possible remembrances on earth will they hand down to their posterity who shall be known in after-years to have stood by and held the garments of those who, in this dark day of our history, undertook to save our mother-country, the common parent of us all.

May God defend the right and bless the brave, and greatly enlarge the ever-growing area of human freedom! Can any one that knows his God, or reads history intelligently, or looks out hopefully on the future of the human race, doubt whether he will or not? This is the holiest of all wars, in its principles and objects, as it will be the grandest in its issues.

Yours in full and warm oneness of feeling with all who love our sacred cause.

BENJAMIN W. DWIGHT.

James A. Roosevelt, Esq., *Secretary, &c.*

LETTER OF REV. J. T. DURYEA.

26 West Thirty-sixth street, N. Y. City,
April 7, 1863.

Dear Sir. Having already devoted more time and strength than I can well spare from professional duties during the past week, and the present, to labors for the soldiers and seamen of the army and navy; seeking, by ministering to them, to discharge the debt of Christian charity and gratitude to the defenders of our nationality, and a citizen's inevitable obligation to his government; and knowing that persons well known to the people and influential among them, will be eager to address you, I desire respectfully to decline so conspicuous a part in your proceedings. Permit me, however, to give my hearty concurrence and deepest sympathy with your movement. The objects, doctrines, sentiments, and spirit of your Association appeal to every loyal heart. Every man true to God, to his country, and to mankind, must bid you fervently "*God speed.*"

You exhibit the true issues of this momentous crisis. This is a struggle for national existence; and our existence is dependent on unity of government. God has fixed the conditions of national life. Where there are unity of territory, sameness of language and religion, community of interests, national life tends to unity. Thwart the life in its organic tendency to unity, it will either painfully burst its bands and force for itself unity, or succumb—and then corruption and decay ensue.

We are in possession of all the conditions of nationality. Physical geography lays the foundation. No oceans intersect our broad plateau; no Alps dissever it; it is one. We have a common language; a religion essentially identical. The past proves that our material and social interests are common. Under these conditions our national life came to unity. The colonies tended to the confederation—the confederacy to a "more perfect union."

Let this unity be broken at this stage of our development, the life of the nation will assert itself, and force a new unity, or it will yield, and death must

inevitably ensue. History reads us our doom. Examples are too familiar to be mentioned.

Let us be warned. We are either rising, regenerated, to send a thrill of national life that will reorganize the shattered members into a new body, or we shall sink back in feebleness TO DIE!

Let this government fall, and section will war against section, through the inevitable collision of interests, until we become self-annihilated; or, worn out in patience, spirit, and resources, we shall, for relief and rest, fling ourselves into the arms of some interfering tyrant, and come to the *unity of despotism.*

Go on, then, in your work. Set this issue before the people. Ring out the alarm! Tone up the public mind, and rouse the national heart. Let the war-cry be, UNITY, LIFE, LIBERTY, DESTINY! against DISUNION, DECAY, DESPOTISM, DOOM!

Very respectfully, yours,

J. T. DURYEA.

P. S.—If you fail to complete your corps of speakers, I will not withhold my voice.

JAMES A. ROOSEVELT, Esq.,
Secretary Loyal League.

LETTER OF THE REV. A. H. VINTON.

ST. MARK'S RECTORY, *April* 8, 1863.

DEAR SIR: Allow me to thank you for the invitation to address the mass meeting of the Loyal National League.

Although obliged to decline your courtesy, I am glad of the opportunity to say that my convictions and feelings chime in entire harmony with the purposes of the League.

As an instrument for giving voice to the pent-up loyalty of the people's great heart, its organization is most timely. For that sentiment had been so long pent up that its power had begun in some quarters to be despised, and its very existence denied.

Expression will give it fresh life and added power, and its joint expression will insure its triumph.

I have never, indeed, permitted myself to doubt that the issue of our terrible conflict would establish the supremacy of the great principle of our national unity, for it is assured to us alike by history, by geography, and by faith: By faith, because the massing together of all the tribes of the earth, in this great land, under a political system adapted to develop the highest manhood of the race, is an experiment of Divine Providence too sublime to fail. By geography, because the rivers and the mountains forbid the distinction of North and South. By history, because every nation that has achieved stability has marched to it always through two kinds of conflict, viz.: a foreign war, to determine its boundaries; and a civil war, to adjust and fix its polity.

We have fought and finished the series of outward conflicts, and there remained of necessity the interior battle of ideas before the national unity could be pronounced impregnable.

This is our present crisis, and, by the threefold light, our struggle seems full of promise.

The principle of national unity, having life in itself, will prove itself sovereign; while the rival passion of secession being, like other passions, suicidal, will perish from its own violence, and then the League of Loyalty will embrace the whole nation.

With this fixed hope, I cheerfully lend my voice to hail its inauguration, and bid it God-speed.

I am, dear sir,
Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
ALEX. H. VINTON.

To JAMES A. ROOSEVELT, Esq.,
Secretary, &c.

LETTER OF REV. STEPHEN H. TYNG.

ST. GEORGE'S RECTORY, April 6, 1863.

MY DEAR SIR: I greatly honor and rejoice in the formation of the Loyal National League. But my health this spring forbids such effort as an address in the open air. It would be a great pleasure to me could I add anything to the noble rising spirit of unconditional devotion to our country and our Constitution, which seems now to render sure the hope of coming from this vast conflict as a free and finally established nation.

Your friend and servant,
STEPHEN H. TYNG.

JAMES A. ROOSEVELT, Esq.

FROM THE REV. JOSEPH P. THOMPSON.

32 WEST 36th STREET,
April 6, 1863.

DEAR SIR: Gladly would I accept the invitation to address the Loyal National League, on the 11th inst., did not a severe cold forbid my speaking in the open air. It gives me no surprise and no discouragement that the second anniversary of the attack on Fort Sumter finds us still in an undecided struggle for the life, the unity, the liberty of the nation. From the first I anticipated nothing short of a three years' war, and nothing less than a struggle involving all our resources, and testing all our faith; and therefore, I accept disasters and reverses without wavering, and hold myself ready for every possible service and sacrifice for my country, unto the end.

Unconditional loyalty to the government—uncompromising hostility to its enemies—unsparing devotion to its defenders—unswerving opposition to foreign interference under whatever disguise—unshrinking sacrifices for UNION, JUSTICE, LIBERTY—no Union with slavery—no disunion for slavery—the UNION FOR LIBERTY—these are the principles and declarations by which I stand through all the fluctuations of the hour, till God shall give us peace in righteousness.

Your ob't servant,
JOS. P. THOMPSON.

JAMES A. ROOSEVELT, Esq.

LETTER OF REV. ORESTES A. BROWNSON.

ELIZABETH, N. J., *April* 11, 1863.

DEAR SIR: It would give me great pleasure to comply with the invitation of the Loyal National League, to address the mass meeting to-day at Union Square, but the state of my health renders it impossible.

My views of the present national crisis are well known. I am an unconditional Union man. I can make no compromise with rebels, and accept no peace that does not secure the supremacy of the government and the integrity of the national territory.

With great respect, I have the honor to be

Your obedient servant,

O. A. BROWNSON.

JAS. A. ROOSEVELT, Esq.

LETTER OF REV. SAMUEL COOKE.

NEW YORK, *April* 8, 1863.

MY DEAR SIR: I have received your invitation to address the mass meeting of the Loyal National League, to be held at Union Square, on Saturday, the 11th inst.

Other calls and duties will prevent me from so doing; and I therefore avail myself of this opportunity to say that the principles which you announce in the pledge as the guides and objects of your association, seem to me to cover the entire ground of patriotic action in the present state of our national affairs. It is entirely clear to my mind, that our land can have no rest, either in the near or remote future, unless the people succeed in "maintaining unimpaired our national unity, both in principle and territorial boundary." Neither can I see how this is to be done except by "unconditional loyalty to the government of the United States, and by an earnest support of its efforts to suppress the rebellion."

We may cry "peace—peace;" but there will be no peace for us, or for our children, save in the complete subdual and overthrow of the men who claim to be the government of the Confederate States, and who care nothing for ruin if thereby they can rule. They represent nothing but themselves, for we have no evidence that a single Southern State was ever fairly voted out of the Union, except South Carolina. We have reason, moreover, to believe that, at this moment, a majority of the voters of the Southern States are, in heart, with the federal government, and not with the new confederacy. But be that as it may, and with a full appreciation of the losses, and horrors, and miseries of war, I can see no path opening into restored peace, and renewed prosperity and happiness, but that which you indicate in the letter to which this is a reply.

I am, most truly yours,

SAMUEL COOKE.

Mr. JAMES A. ROOSEVELT,

Secretary of the Loyal National League.

LETTER OF THE HON. ROBERT DALE OWEN.

New York, *April* 10, 1863.

Sir: In reply to the invitation so kindly extended to me to be present and deliver an address, on the Sumter Anniversary, next Saturday, suffer me to express my regret that the imperative character of the duties which I have assumed, as chairman of a Commission recently created to investigate and report upon the condition of the colored population emancipated by acts of Congress and by the President's Proclamation, and to suggest measures for their protection and government, forbids my acceptance of what would otherwise have been a pleasant duty.

But, in thus reluctantly declining, you will allow me, perhaps, a few brief remarks suggested by the occasion, and by the present critical condition of the country.

No man familiar with history expected that the first burst of enthusiasm, aroused two years since by the cannonade of Fort Sumter, and which sent half a million of volunteers into the field, would endure through a protracted war. Such things never happen. Reaction comes by necessity. The wonder is, not that it showed itself last autumn in political reverses, but that it did not come upon us sooner. And we may well be surprised and encouraged that the dark season has been so brief, and that the day is already at hand. One of the latest signs of the morning dawn is the noble victory in Connecticut. I predict that the thousands who will assemble next Saturday to renew, with fresh enthusiasm, after the sober second thought of two years' ordeal, their vows of loyalty to the Union, will be another.

That reaction had no deep or solid foundation. It was due, in a measure, to the natural impatience under temporary reverses, of a people unaccustomed to war, evincing itself in a restless desire for change. That impatience was doubtless quickened by the fact, that, before and at the time of the autumn elections, there were many things in the administration of public affairs imperatively demanding reform. Could it be otherwise, when a million of men were suddenly called into the field from a nation at profound peace, and with scarcely any warlike experience?

But even as to the worst errors of administration that have been committed, we may regard them under two phases. Are we sure that they have not been overruled for good?

When I find, in a recent report on the conduct of the war, proofs of all the short-comings that have marked its progress; when I read there of golden opportunities lost—of the fairest hopes of victory dashed and blighted—I see in all this more than the incapacity of man. I see the finger of God. Had there be no fatal blunders made by our generals in command—had our troops been led as wisely as they fought bravely—the war might indeed have been closed last summer. Six months ago we might have concluded a peace. But can we believe that it would have been a peace on an enduring foundation—one to last, not during a few anxious years of our lives, but a peace for our children, and for their children after them? Had we, then, suffered enough, and thought enough, and felt enough, to do this? I do not believe it. Nor was it to be expected. Consider what lay at the basis of this struggle—an evil, of proportions so gigantic that in its eradication was involved the social condition of four millions of people, and the industrial and commercial interests of six millions more. Was it likely that we could reach the solution of a problem so vast, so momentous, through a few months of war, through a few months of thought?

Two battles had to be fought: one in the field, physical force against physical force, in which the sword is the arbiter: the other at home, with weapons less violent but more powerful. Here had to be fought the battle against moral wrong, the battle against old abuse, the battle against long-hardened prejudice. And it availed nothing to close the war with the sword, if the

war of opinion was still at issue and undecided. We forgot this in the first din of arms. We are awake to its importance now.

There should be an addition to Jefferson's celebrated axiom: "Error of opinion may safely be tolerated, if reason is left free to combat it." It is not enough that reason be left free. She must be up and doing. She must bestir herself. If she spends her freedom in idleness, if she sits listlessly, by with her hands across, error will steal a march upon her and win the battle. God works, but he works by human means. It is encouraging to perceive that loyal men are becoming convinced of these truths, and are acting upon the conviction. It is encouraging to believe—as most firmly I do—that the triumphant success which awaits your demonstration on the Sumter Anniversary, will aid the good cause as surely and effectually as a brilliant victory achieved by force of arms.

Oh that anniversary we may well pause to consider what cause it was, breaking in upon eighty years of good fellowship, outraging the domestic tranquillity of a continent, that directed against Anderson and his gallant band, then in the discharge of their official duty, a bombardment by their fellow-citizens.

We are not left to conjecture that cause. Three weeks before fire was opened on Fort Sumter, the gentleman elected by the insurrectionary states as their Vice President, boldly and unreservedly proclaimed it. On the 21st of March, 1861, Alexander H. Stephens, addressing an immense crowd at Savannah, Georgia, publicly declared, that "African slavery was the immediate cause of the late rupture and the present revolution;" and that "slavery is the negro's natural and moral condition." He went further. He added: "This, our new government, is the first, in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth."

There are some things which cannot be done in this world—they are morally impossible. And this project to erect, in the nineteenth century, a great empire on the basis of human slavery, is one of them. *We* may not be the agents to subvert it. We may act the coward, and suffer defeat; we may play the submissionist, and assent, for the time, to slavery's supremacy. But it will perish none the less. The very advance of the world will destroy it. The irresistible current of human Progress will sweep it away.

The question is not whether that slave-based government shall fall. The only question is, whether we, connecting our fortunes with a system inevitably doomed to destruction, shall be involved with it in one common ruin.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

ROB'T DALE OWEN.

To JAMES A. ROOSEVELT, Esq.,

Secretary Loyal National League, New York.

LETTER OF HON. LYMAN TREMAIN.

ALBANY, *April 10th*, 1863.

SIR: I have received your invitation to address a mass meeting at Union Square, on the 11th instant, but other engagements will place it beyond my power to accept it.

I have perused with satisfaction the pledge of the Loyal National League. It is brief, but comprehensive, and its terms are so general, and yet so patriotic, that no American citizen can object to them, unless he is a traitor or in sympathy with treason.

The day you have selected for your meeting is quite appropriate. Various phases in the condition of the public mind, and in regard to the future result

of our great struggle, have been developed during the two years that have elapsed since the overt act of war was committed at Fort Sumter. The ardor and novelty exhibited in the first uprising of the people to resent the insult offered to the national flag, have passed away. Weak and timid men, borne along for the moment by the popular current, but having no permanent principle of action, have manifested symptoms of wavering and despondency, because the rebellion did not fall before the first blow. Necessary evils, resulting from a war unexampled in its proportions, together with the incidental burdens and restraints imposed upon the citizens by the acts of our constituted authorities, have enabled designing and ambitious leaders, who would prefer the success of treason to the triumph of the government under its present administration, to acquire a temporary success that, to the superficial observer, seemed to indicate a dissatisfaction with the war.

The boldness, however, manifested by the plotters against the government, has been productive of salutary results. Good men, who had been deceived as to their purpose, have taken the alarm. Public sentiment is finally coming to the conclusion that there can be no middle ground to be occupied between the friends and the enemies of our government.

Union leagues are capable of doing much good, in developing public opinion and giving it the proper direction, as well as counteracting the misrepresentations of those croakers and disloyal men who lose no opportunity to mislead and corrupt the popular sentiment.

Present indications are encouraging. Recent Congressional legislation, by dedicating all the men, money, and other resources of the nation, to the work of overthrowing this rebellion, has given to the people of the loyal states, to the rebels, and to the world, a pledge of the terrible earnestness of the government and the people which has produced beneficial fruits. Many of the questions which were new, and in the earlier stages of the war, have been adroitly used to embarrass the administration, are being determined by the action of the legislative and judicial departments of the government. Whether the power to suspend the habeas corpus, where a necessity exists, belongs to the President or to Congress is no longer a practical question, because by the recent act of Congress, the President is invested with all the authority which Congress can confer in addition to that which pertains to his high office. By its recent decision, declaring that the stocks and securities of the United States are exempt from state taxation, the Supreme Court of the United States has rendered effective the money-borrowing power of the national government—a power essential to carrying out the constitutional authority of raising and supporting armies. This same high tribunal has by its recent decision, in the prize cases, set at rest an objection which has been urged very generally and in high quarters, against the President's proclamation, and which would be equally available against any other act of war on the part of the general government or of the commander-in-chief, to the effect that it is invalid, unless it makes a distinction between the property of loyal and disloyal citizens in the rebel states.

This objection being fairly and fully stated is thus authoritatively overthrown by the Court: "Under our peculiar Constitution, although the citizens owe supreme allegiance to the federal government, they owe also a qualified allegiance to the states in which they are domiciled; their persons and property are subject to its laws; hence in organizing this rebellion they have acted as states claiming to be sovereign over all persons and property within their respective limits and asserting a right to absolve their citizens from their allegiance to the federal government. Several of these states have combined to form a new confederacy, claiming to be acknowledged by the world as a sovereign state. Their right to do so is now being tested by wager of battle—the ports and territory of each of those states are held in hostility to the general government. It is no loose, unorganized insurrection, having no defined boundary or possession. It has a boundary marked by lines of bayonets and which can

be crossed only by force. *South of this line is enemies' territory. All persons residing within this territory whose property may be used to increase the revenues of the hostile power are in this condition liable to be treated as enemies though not foreigners.*"

Encouraged by these manifestations, let us sustain all the acts of our public authorities honestly intended to crush out this rebellion, including all laws, until they are pronounced invalid by the courts. Let the lines be more distinctly drawn between those who, no matter what may have been their political antecedents, are now unconditional supporters of the government, and those who are either against it or for it with conditions and provisoes.

Let us discard wholly all subordinate issues and mere partisan obligations, and let the question be squarely met of union or disunion, loyalty or treason. Our brave soldiers have gone forth to fight, and, if necessary, to die in the field. They are united, and republicans, and democrats, Americans, whigs, and abolitionists, are marching forward, side by side, and shoulder to shoulder. Why cannot we also be united at home? Why not cheer, sustain, and strengthen our noble armies by presenting the spectacle of a people substantially united? Our sacrifices and sufferings, serious as they are, are scarcely to be named in comparison with the sacrifices and sufferings already suffered by the rebels.

The glorious objects to be accomplished by our success, the priceless value of the Constitution and Union we would preserve, the millions of treasure already expended, and the thousands of lives sacrificed for that object; the national degradation and ruin which will be the result if we fail in the contest, demand that the war be pressed forward with all the power and means at our command.

There can be no peace with these traitors until they are vanquished. We must conquer them or they will conquer us. Away, then, with the wretched cry of "Peace," "Peace," when we know there can be no real peace except one achieved by the valor of our armies and the success of our arms. Let us resolve that whether this contest continues months or years, it must go on until the victory is won. To falter or yield now, or to fight with only half our powers, would cover us with eternal disgrace. It is quite clear that we must fight, and reasonably certain that we shall win. The question is coming down to one of endurance, resources, and numbers, and hence the probabilities of success are all on the side of the government

On, then, with the good cause! Let no Union man falter or turn back. Trusting to our own right arms, to the righteousness of our cause, and to the favor of an overruling Providence, let us press onward, indulging the confident expectation of re-establishing our national authority throughout the entire States and Territories of the Union.

Yours, very truly,
LYMAN TREMAIN.

JAMES A. ROOSEVELT, Esq.,
Secretary of the Loyal National League.

LETTER OF HON. LORENZO SHERWOOD, LATE OF TEXAS.

NEW YORK, *April* 10, 1863.

GENTLEMEN: I am in receipt of your very kind note of the 8th, inviting me to attend, as one of the speakers, at the meeting to be held at Union Square on the 11th inst. You will please accept my thanks for the compliment. If, in bestowing it, you have gone too far by inviting me as one of the speakers, you have not over-estimated my anxiety for the great cause.

I say great cause, for the reason that no cause, in its manifold incidents, has ever been greater. History records no other like it. In the Revolutionary struggle, the contest involved the establishment and maintenance of an outpost

of civilization founded upon the theory of protection to natural rights. What was then an outpost has grown to be a centre, and is regarded as such, not only by political philosophers and lovers of free government, but also by the antagonistic political forces of the whole world. The American theory of natural rights, a population of more than thirty millions having all the motives in combination to maintain these natural rights, and a continent as a platform upon which to exert them in connection with an expanding power, make this nation the centre of a civilization upon the highest and most sacred of all political theories—the acknowledged right of man to be free, under well-regulated self-government.

Our theory, adopted for the protection of popular rights through the distribution of power, and of giving effect to such distribution of power by means of the elective franchise, has been attacked by the anti-democratic or anti-republican influences of the South. A minority of the Southern population has set out, not for a new, but for an old form of government—a form of government that has not kept pace with the advancement of political philosophy on this continent. European forms and European privileges in class power are sought to be reintroduced, in opposition to the interdict in our fundamental law forbidding the establishing of any order of nobility. The form of government which our fathers had repudiated as inconsistent with justice, and not adapted to the protection of popular rights, is now insisted upon as a means for advancing and upholding the remnant of barbarism still existing in the southern portion of the Union.

This is the cause of the attempted revolution. We cannot disguise the nature or character of the present conflict of arms. It is purely political. It arises out of antagonisms, the very opposite of each other. It springs from the theory, not new, but recently promulgated as an excuse for revolution—"*that slavery and democracy are incompatible.*" If we allow the conspirators to be the expositors of their own meaning, we need not be at a loss to divine their objects. It is clearly apparent that they intend to free their institution from the danger of republican government, to secure it by abrogating a government of majorities in the South, and to perpetuate it by the establishment of a cemented and hereditary slave aristocracy.

This is the political, material, and war meaning of the rebellion. The real issue is this: Shall we maintain our national unity, and in connection therewith that clause of the Constitution which guarantees to the people of all the states republican government? or, shall we allow the antagonistic theory, which the conspirators have set up, to prevail? When we adopt the true theory of the war, and popularize that theory, the rebellion will have lost nearly the whole of its political as well as its physical force. When the conspiracy is stripped of its disguises, it is then shorn of its strength: surrounded by its disguises, it has been made to appear formidable, and has been made formidable for a season through imposition and concealed treachery. The rebellion is formidable or weak precisely in proportion as its motives and objects become known to the popular mind of the nation. Fifteen hundred thousand is the force on the one hand; twenty-seven millions, or thereabouts, is the natural force on the other. The one is in favor of repudiating republican government, the other in favor of maintaining it. This is the natural arrangement of forces when the objects of the rebellion are definitely made known. In this conflict between the democratic and anti-democratic forces of the nation, nothing is more essential to the national cause than that the issue should be definitely understood. Give to the people the real issue as it is, and they will make the result as it ought to be.

Annexed to this note, I send a copy of the New York Senate resolutions. I do so for the reason that they may be incorporated with the expressions of patriotic sentiment now flowing in upon your committee from all parts of the country. It was a happy omen for the success of our cause, when the Senate of this state flung away its partyism, and invited our people to come

and stand side by side on the ground of patriotism alone. Most wisely are the people responding to that generous and praiseworthy invitation. The day that these resolutions passed the senate will be remembered as a day that afforded the harbinger of assured strength that was to grow out of a consolidated determination of our people to stand in unity in suppressing the rebellion.

With appreciative regard and sympathy in all your efficient efforts,

I am most cordially and truly yours, &c.

LORENZO SHERWOOD.

To the Council and Committee of the Loyal National League, New York.

NEW YORK SENATE RESOLUTIONS.

Passed February 13, 1863.

[Referred to in the letter of the Hon. Lorenzo Sherwood.]

Whereas, The political influences now controlling the rebellion have defined their motives and positions by announcing that "Slavery and Democracy are incompatible," and that they are "irreconcilable antagonisms;" and,

Whereas, also, It now plainly appears that the slaveholders' rebellion originated in a conspiracy against the principles of free government as well as against the national unity; therefore,

Resolved, As the sense of this legislature, that it has become a question for the American people, as well as for the advocates of liberal government everywhere, whether slavery shall perish, or the principles of free government be overthrown and prostrated.

Resolved, That free government in the South had nearly ceased to exist previous to the inauguration of open rebellion; that in the execrable preparation for open rebellion, civil liberty had been stricken down and public opinion had become the result of regulation by mobs; that the management of the incidents of that rebellion has been a mere continuation of an execrable system of coercion, inaugurated by slaveholding traitors who had long plotted the overthrow of free government in the South.

Resolved, That the Constitution of the United States guarantees to the people of all the states free republican government; that this is the absorbing feature of our whole political system and the highest behest of our fundamental law; that there is no reserved power by the states or incident of state sovereignty that has or can have acknowledged existence in opposition to this fundamental guaranty; that in maintaining this guaranty of free government against all antagonisms, we maintain the Constitution as it was, as it is, and as it should be.

Resolved, That the despicable sympathy expressed by political circles in Europe in favor of the overthrow of democratic government in the United States, is precisely what the American people had a right to expect; that the expression of sympathy by the masses of Europe, in favor of maintaining our free government against the acknowledged antagonism of slavery, is also what we had a right to expect; but that any portion of our free countrymen of the North should have joined the coalition between traitors and European despotism to overthrow the national unity, is what no patriot in our country had any right to expect.

Resolved, That we hereby absolve ourselves from allegiance to all party, excepting that great party of American freemen who are determined to stand by the question of national unity and free government; to this great party we cordially tender the hand of fellowship and unity. We call upon the people of this great state to stand by this cause with one accord, and to maintain it with all their might, and power, and means, and credit, and to exhibit no hesitation or faltering until this cause is made triumphant.

Resolved, further, That we call upon the legislatures of the loyal states of this Union, upon Congress, and upon the President of the United States, and invite them, clearly and distinctly, to present to their countrymen, North and South, the great issue between free government on the one hand and the antagonism of slavery set up by the conspirators against free government on the other; that we not only believe, but know with moral certainty, that when this question is well and definitely understood by the masses, it will bring into political affiliation and unity the free labor force of the whole Union.

Resolved, That as the representatives of the people of New York, we send the tender regards of our whole people to the brave men composing the army and navy of the Union; that while we cherish their names and brave deeds in affectionate remembrance, we pledge to them the firm and vigorous support of our people in every way and form possible to make such support available. It is theirs, through patriotic bravery, to achieve success; it is ours, as their grateful countrymen, to honor them for it.

LETTER OF THE HON. J. I. CLARK HARE, OF PHILADELPHIA.

PHILADELPHIA, *April* 8, 1863.

DEAR SIR: Reasons which I will not detain you by stating, prevent me from accepting the kind invitations of your Committee, received to-day, to address the inaugural mass meeting of the Loyal National League, to be held on the anniversary of the attack on Fort Sumter.

I regret that I cannot take part in the proceedings of a meeting, called to commemorate the great event which seems to have been intended by Divine Providence to teach the American people how to meet and bear disaster, and convert defeat into the occasion of victory.

Present or absent, the heart of every lover of his country will be with you, and remain firm in the belief that we shall, through your efforts, and those of true patriots everywhere throughout the land, succeed in vindicating our honor, and existence as a nation, by the suppression alike of our open foes and of the secret enemies who seek to mislead us under the guise of friendship.

Yours, respectfully,

JAMES A. ROOSEVELT, ESQ., J. I. CLARK HARE.
Sec'y Loyal National League.

LETTER OF THE HON. JAMES WADSWORTH.

58 LIBERTY ST., NEW YORK, *April* 10, 1863.

DEAR SIR: Inadvertence, amid the hourly pressure of important business, has alone prevented my earlier reply to the very courteous invitation of yourself, as well as of your Committee, to address our fellow-citizens on the occasion of the mass meeting of to-morrow. I shall be with you in heart, and soul, and person, and speak if I can.

I am not well, but, believing that the sword was given to man that none might be slaves, save those who lack the courage or the skill to use it, and that in this time of armed rebellion the only proper peacemakers of the hour are the loaded cannon and the lighted torch in the hands of a Union-loving soldiery, you may always count on my voice and arm being lifted wherever in the judgment of my fellows it can advance the cause of constitutional liberty and the wants of the Republic.

With my kind regards to your coadjutors of the Committee,

I am, truly yours,

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS, ESQ., J. WADSWORTH.
Chairman of Committee of Arrangements.

LETTER OF HON. MURRAY HOFFMAN.

NEW YORK, *March* 31, 1863.

DEAR SIR: I greatly regret my inability to address the meeting of the Loyal National League, in compliance with the invitation with which I have been honored.

No one has a deeper sense of the unsurpassed guilt of this rebellion; of the humiliation and ruin which will attend its success; and of the gratitude due from every friend of freedom and civilization to those who are struggling to suppress it. May their efforts speedily find an end in their perfect triumph!

Yours, very respectfully,
MURRAY HOFFMAN.

JAMES A. ROOSEVELT, Esq., *Secretary, &c.*

LETTER OF HON. JAMES W. WHITE.

NEW YORK, 341 FIFTH AVENUE,
April 11, 1863.

DEAR SIR: I regret that it will not be in my power to comply with the invitation of the Loyal National League, to address the mass meeting to be held to-day on Union Square. Sickness and death in my family detain me from the meeting; but I am with it heartily in its spirit and purpose.

No one was more scrupulously solicitous than I always was, to avoid every interference with the domestic institutions of the slaveholding states; but when those states wantonly and wickedly rose up to destroy our national integrity, power, and glory, for the sake of that human slavery that was our scandal and reproach before Christendom, I promptly sympathized with all those whose hearts beat quickest and strongest, and who looked to the most energetic, radical, and permanent measures for the suppression of the rebellion, and the preservation of our republic, whole and intact, in its majesty and right, territorial and political.

I have felt deeply, that the preservation of our republican idea (which must perish if the rebellion can be successful) was worth more to the human race than all the lives and all the material wealth embraced at any one point of time within the limits of the United States. I did not, and do not, desire to survive the fall and ruin of my country and her free Republican institutions. If but the mere germ of that Republicanism can be preserved, to grow and fructify, and expand in the future, in all its mild and genial beneficence, I have always felt, and still feel, that it would be cheaply purchased at the sacrifice of all that we have to offer of life and property. That these sentiments animate the great body of our people, cannot be doubted. Your meeting to day will, I hope, furnish fresh evidence of that truth. The past two years are replete with it; and if ever we should feel proud of the title of AMERICAN CITIZENS, it should be in view of those two years just past, during which our people *en masse* have so often shown themselves ready to come forth and suffer and die for the glory of the nation, and the maintenance, under God, of the great living principle of justice and human freedom which he has confided to us to cherish and defend.

There are many suggestions—practical ones—that I would desire to urge, but I have not the time. I will only say that whatever may be the reverses that we shall meet with, whatever may be the delays or the treacheries that shall embarrass or obstruct us, we must be inexorable in the determination that we shall never cease our efforts; but, on the contrary, shall continually increase and multiply them until the national authority is restored to every inch of territory that at any time acknowledged the supremacy of the United States.

Acting in this spirit, and holding every officer and public servant, civil and military, from the highest to the lowest, strictly accountable for the uses to which he may apply, or neglect to apply, the resources of the nation committed to him, it will be speedily seen that the rebellious power that is arrayed against us, even though succored by any amount of foreign recognition or intervention, must yield and disappear before the resolute and exhaustless energy that we shall thus bring to bear upon it.

I am, dear sir, with much respect,
Your obedient servant,
JAMES W. WHITE.

JAMES A. ROOSEVELT,
Secretary of the Loyal National League.

LETTER OF JAMES T. BRADY, ESQ.

NEW YORK, *April* 11, 1863.

MY DEAR SIR: My throat and voice are in such a condition that it will be out of my power to speak at the meeting of the League this afternoon.

I need not say how anxious I am to assist in every honorable movement designed to secure, on the part of the North, unanimity of sentiment and action in preserving the Constitution and Union, and securing the perpetuity of our republic.

The attachments and obligations of party will be considered by our people in contests of a party character, but should be entirely laid aside in the single effort to save the nation's life from the deadly blows aimed against it by traitors. When we have secured the physical and moral triumph, sure to come, sooner or later, we will punish infractions of the Constitution through the ballot-boxes and courts of justice.

But in the prosecution of the present war, to prevent twenty millions of the North disgracefully succumbing to eight millions at the South, we will, I hope, give the administration a hearty and unwavering support.

Yours, very truly,
JAMES T. BRADY.

Mr. JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS, Jr.

LETTER OF THE HON. HENRY WINTER DAVIS, OF MARYLAND.

BALTIMORE, *April* 10, 1863.

DEAR SIR: I have postponed my reply till this time, in the vain hope that I might be able to accept your polite invitation. To my great disappointment, I am at the last moment compelled to forego the pleasure of participating in your loyal demonstration.

No one watched with more anxiety than I did, the treacherous attempt of the enemies of the government to paralyze it by getting possession of the House of Representatives and of the state governments. No one rejoices more than I do over the failure of that conspiracy, so nearly successful, and which, if successful, must have proved fatal to the United States government, or plunged the loyal states into the horrors of a revolution. I am thankful that the danger is passed; that the people are now awake to the plot against their liberties which they were so near consummating under the guidance of faithless and ambitious leaders; and that the rushing current of popular reaction has driven not a few to disavow their designs, apologize for their blindness, and openly to execrate the purposes of those with whom they acted.

Henceforth the *people* will know that the enemies of the government are those who fail to support all its vigorous measures; that the cry for peace is

treachery; that sympathy for southern brethren is hostility to our loyal brethren; and that all who are not with us are traitors to be watched, and not patriots to be trusted.

The nation now knows that the result of the war is a question of endurance, of resources, of tenacity of purpose, of patience; and that question can be solved but in one way.

Let us remember the great quality of the Roman people—unfaltering firmness in disaster. With their example before our eyes, if we resolve never to make peace till crowned with the laurels of victory, we shall assuredly win, and wear for generations the crown of empire.

Sincerely your obedient servant,

H. WINTER DAVIS.

JAMES A. ROOSEVELT, Esq., *Secretary, &c.*

LETTER OF THE HON. JOHN K. PORTER.

ALBANY, *April* 10, 1863.

MY DEAR SIR: Until this morning, I had hoped to be able to take part in the inaugural meeting of the Loyal National League, but I am detained by engagements which cannot be deferred.

The occasion will be historical. It will be associated with great events. It will infuse needed strength into the councils of the government. It will nerve with new vigor those who, with calm and dauntless courage, are perilling their lives, on the sea and on the land, in the public defence. It will dispel the illusion which has upheld a sinking rebellion, that Northern party lines could be converted into lines of division between treason and loyalty.

Administrations rise and fall on questions of political ascendency; but *the fiat of the popular will*, which is the strength and the law of a republic, is, that the government shall stand; and that, in the free states of the North, treason shall find no party in which it can claim a home.

The Loyal National League will proclaim to-morrow the united purpose of a free people to maintain the Constitution and the laws. This announcement will be appropriately made from the democratic city of New York, in which George Washington took his inauguration oath to "preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States"—the city in which a high public functionary of the nation, now building and equipping pirate ships to burn and sink unarmed American merchantmen, recently received private proposals from Northern traitors for a league between them and England, to make common cause in subverting the "Constitution as it is," and dismembering "the Union as it was."

Very respectfully yours,

JOHN K. PORTER.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS, Jr., Esq., *Secretary, &c.*

LETTER OF HON J. G. POTTS, OF NEW JERSEY.

TRENTON, *April* 6, 1863.

DEAR SIR: I am in the receipt of your kind favor of the 3d, and would gladly accept the invitation extended to me but for engagements which I cannot well dispense with.

In your contemplated gathering of loyal men my heart will be with you; and, depend upon it, so will the heart of New Jersey, notwithstanding the bastard peace resolutions of her late mis-representatives. The people of

this state will never be outdone in devotion to the Union while Princeton, and Monmouth, and Trenton, lie within her borders.

With great respect, very truly,

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS, Esq. J. G. POTTS.

LETTER OF HON. H. M. RICE, OF MINNESOTA.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April* 8, 1863.

DEAR SIR: I cannot be with you on the 11th instant. The present war may last as long as slavery is a recognized American Institution, or until it shall be so modified, as to partake of the benefits of civilization and Christianity, with a view to its ultimate extinction. Slavery is the cause of the continued strife: the cause *must be removed,* or the disease will extend to every extreme of the Union, and in the end prove its ruin. A long war is better than a short peace —better for both sections—and yet, the sooner it is closed, the more quickly will the anvil, the plow, and the loom, respond to the happy songs of the workmen throughout the entire land. Hence the necessity of a united North. Our forefathers formed a league for the defence of liberty—the South have formed a league in defence of human slavery. Are we of the North less brave, less patriotic than our forefathers?

Why can we not lay aside party, petty fault-findings, and unite as one man, until the honor of our country, liberty, and the names of our fathers, shall have been vindicated? The South were traitors to the Constitution, the country, and the *Democratic Party,* and now persistently insult those who, for years, fought solely in their defence. Yet they find in the North democratic sympathizers! Who can forget how they left us—cowardly left us—without any feeling of gratitude for the past, or hope of a future reunion? Prior to their saying good-by, they were informed that the democracy of the North were not discouraged; but if they would remain, that the fight should be renewed with increased vigor. *They could well smile* at this simple yet generous proposition, for their own full, fat ranks showed that they had not suffered; but the careworn, thinned Northern wing told but too well who had met the shock of our political foes. And yet democrats can be found, doling out their sickening sympathy for the success of their unholy cause. Those of the South have frequently said that they will listen to no compromise, short of a recognition of *their independence;* this being true, *a peace democrat is a disunionist, for the South will have no peace short of disunion, unless compelled by force of arms to abandon her present position.*

Those in power have erred, will again err; but because a pilot occasionally misses the points of the compass, shall we scuttle the ship?

The administration may not confer any civil appointments upon democrats; what then? It gives the democracy the greater opportunity for showing its patriotism—its love of country—of liberty. Ever since the republican party came into existence, it has, until recently stood patiently out in the cold, even beyond the crumb boundary, while the democratic party for years waxed fat upon the good of the land. Now that the tables have been partially turned, can we not show a little patient modesty until we shall again be triumphant?

End the rebellion—make war upon the western mountains, cause them to throw out their untold and countless millions of hidden treasures—open up to seed the great prairies of the West—develop the manufacturing wealth of the country—spot every sea with American sails as thick as snow-flakes—*Civilization and Christianity* will do the rest, *even to the making of a proper disposition of the African.*

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

HENRY M. RICE.

Hon. Mr. ROOSEVELT,
Secretary of the Union League Association,
New York City.

LETTER OF THE HON. THOS. CARNEY, OF KANSAS.

Astor House, N. Y., *April* 10, 1863.

My dear Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 8th inst., inviting me to address my fellow-citizens of New York, at the great mass meeting to be held at Union Square on the 11th inst.—the anniversary of the attack upon Fort Sumter. I regret that my official duties will not permit me to be present upon that occasion.

It is a source of pride to me to know that the young state which I have the honor to represent, is not excelled by any of her elder sisters in devotion to the Union, and in her contributions to the noble work of perpetuating it unimpaired. Kansas has been tried in the furnace of affliction, and has come forth purified and ennobled. It cannot be forgotten that while we were poor in purse we were strong in the earnest determination of our people, and in the ready and unyielding courage of our soldiery. Unappalled by the spectre of conscription, we have furnished more than double our quota of troops under all the calls of the President, and are still ready, should occasion demand, to make renewed sacrifices for the holy purpose of subduing rebellion and re-establishing the government upon an enduring basis.

And with becoming modesty I claim that the services which Kansas troops have rendered to the country in this time of her trial, entitle them to the grateful remembrance of every loyal citizen. They have shed their blood on more than twenty battle-fields, and have met and beaten their enemy in more than half a dozen states.

But where all have done so nobly it may seem invidious to particularize. The sentiment of the loyal North is undivided as to the necessity of putting down this wicked rebellion, and the determination to accomplish that purpose speedily and effectually. The elements which compose the Loyal National League well illustrate the fact that no differences of political opinion will be allowed to retard the great work, upon the successful completion of which depends the existence, prosperity, and perpetuity of the government.

I do not allow myself to doubt the result. The hour of final triumph may not be as near at hand as we now anticipate; still further reverses may attend our arms. But I confidently believe that, as well through disaster as through victory, the great North will push steadily onward to the eventual destruction of rebellion, and the restored unity of all the states.

Two years ago the rebels inaugurated this gigantic conflict by the attack upon, and subsequent reduction of Fort Sumter. To-day that stronghold and the city which it guards are invested by a powerful and well-appointed fleet and army. God grant that before the second anniversary of the fall of Sumter passes, we may receive intelligence that it is again under the control of the federal government, and that Charleston has received the merited punishment of its long-nursed and virulent treason.

Thanking you for your kind invitation, I have the honor to remain, with the highest consideration,

Very respectfully, your ob't servant,

THOS. CARNEY.

Jno. Austin Stevens, Jr., Esq., *Chairman, &c.*

LETTER FROM THE HON. JAS. Y. SMITH, OF RHODE ISLAND.

PROVIDENCE, *April* 8, 1863.

MY DEAR SIR: I have the pleasure of your letter of 4th inst., inviting me to address the mass meeting called for the 11th inst., on Union Square, to inaugurate the Loyal National League.

I regret that my engagements will prevent my participating with our brothers on an occasion of such deep national interest and the aniversary of an event which marked an epoch in the history of our government. May the interest of the meeting be intensified by the knowledge that our flag again waves over Sumter, and that Charleston is now in possession of loyal men.

I trust the response of Connecticut to the greeting of our Loyal League may be continued from state to state until but one sentiment shall prevail from the Atlantic to the Pacific—unity and fraternity.

For the interest expressed so cordially in our success in Rhode Island, accept my thanks.

Very truly yours,

JAMES Y. SMITH.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS, Jr., Esq., *of Committee, &c.*

LETTER OF MR. R. H. DANA, JR.

BOSTON, *April* 8, 1863.

MY DEAR SIR: A loyal man must give a good reason for not attending the mass meeting of the Loyal National League next Saturday, at which you have honored me with an invitation to speak.

I trust mine will be considered sufficient. I am officially engaged in the trial of an American citizen for being engaged in fitting out, from a New England port, a slaver.

Every slave-trader is an enemy of the cause which the Loyal League is organized to maintain.

His instincts and interests lead him to sympathize with an empire whose corner-stone is slavery. He is wiliing that that power shall rule the whole republic; and, if that cannot be, he is willing to give them half of it for their empire. It is such purposes we must contend against.

Believe me,

With great sympathy,

Yours truly,

R. H. DANA, JR.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS, Jr., Esq.

LETTER OF DR. OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.

BOSTON, *April 4th*, 1863.

DEAR SIR: I am, as all of us are, heart and soul with you in the great national movement, which will carry with it every true voice and arm of the loyal North, and many a true heart, throbbing for the hour of delivery, in the grasp of Southern traitors and tyrants. All success to the meeting in your spa-

cious park, none too ample for the multitudes who will throng its gates, a palace as it stands, with heaven for its roof. May spring carpet its floor with softest green, and tint its ceiling with purest blue, for this auspicious festival!

Union Square, sprinkled from the font of patriotism when it received its name, is to be rebaptized by immersion in the same sacred waters. In their depths let us bury all that can divide the true lovers of a common country, so that neither death, nor life, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, shall ever separate them from each other. Henceforth let us call all men brothers save those who have sold their birthright for wealth or power, and those who lack manhood to defend their nation against the bayonet thrust at her bosom and the stroke of the poison-fang at her heel.

Like many others who would gladly be with you, I shall be compelled to forego that high privilege. But the shouts in Union Square will be heard on Boston Common; the old grasshopper on Faneuil Hall will wheel round to the southwest to listen for them; our narrow streets will not have room enough for their echoes; Massachusetts will ring with them; Rhode Island, the Lilliputian bride of Liberty, resplendent in the white robe and the proud jewels of her fresh espousals, will stand on tiptoe to catch the sound; New England will thrill through and through with it, the wide North will be all alive with it; and the west wind will carry it over the prairies, over the sierras, to the far shore fringed with the gold of sunset.

With many regrets that I cannot add my voice to the voices of the thousands that will swell the great shout for Union, which means national salvation, and glory, and honor, and immortality,

I am yours, very truly,

O. W. HOLMES.

John Austin Stevens, Jr., Esq.,

For Committee of Loyal National League.

LETTER OF MR. CHAS. ELIOT NORTON, OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Cambridge, Mass., 7th April, 1863.

Sir: I have had the honor of receiving an invitation to attend the meeting of the loyal National League in New York, on the anniversary of the bombardment of Fort Sumter. I regret that I am unable to accept it, for it would afford me the heartiest pleasure to take part in a mass meeting certain to have such wide influence, the object of which is to declare that "the unity of this nation shall not be impaired, either in principle or territorial boundary."

For the love of the Union, on the part of the loyal people of the North, is no blind passion; nor is it a sentimental affection for an ideal Union as it was. It springs from no lust of dominion or pride in territorial extent, but it is a deep and abiding sense that the territorial integrity of the nation must be preserved, in order to maintain free institutions. It is the reverence for justice and the love of liberty which inspire the love of the Union. In maintaining territorial unity, the people mean to secure a more perfect unity of principle throughout the nation than has heretofore existed. They mean, that superstitious regard for the letter of the Constitution shall not be allowed to interfere with the influence and authority of its spirit. They mean, that is, "to form a more perfect union, to establish justice, to promote the general welfare and to secure the blessings of liberty," for all men North and South.

I have the honor to be,

sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES ELIOT NORTON.

James A. Roosevelt, Esq.,

Sec'y of the Loyal National League, N. Y.

LETTER OF WM. CURTIS NOYES, ESQ.

New York, *April* 10, 1863.

My dear Sir: My absence at Albany, attending the Court of Appeals, has prevented an answer to the kind invitation of the Loyal National League, to address the mass meeting to be held to-morrow at Union Square. I cordially approve of the movement, and sympathize fully in its object; but a severe cold under which I am now suffering will prevent my speaking in the open air, and I must therefore decline the opportunity, which I would otherwise gladly embrace, of again bearing my public testimony to the wickedness of the war into which the country has been plunged by the "slave oligarchy"—to the necessity of prosecuting it to a successful peace with all the men and treasure of the North—and to our fixed determination never to end it until the Union is restored, the integrity of the territory of the United States preserved, and our national flag everywhere respected and honored.

Very respectfully,
Your friend and servant,
WM. CURTIS NOYES.

J. A. Roosevelt,
Secretary of the Loyal National League.

LETTER OF JAMES A. HAMILTON, ESQ.

Dobbs' Ferry, *April* 10, 1863.

To the Loyal National League:

Gentlemen: In reply to your very flattering invitation to address a mass meeting at Union Square, on the 11th instant, I must express my regret that I am admonished by my advanced age not to attempt to address our fellow-citizens of New York on that occasion in the open air, and particularly that I shall thus be deprived of the opportunity of *uniting* with the loyal and patriotic men who will be assembled there, in the *renewal*, in the most solemn and public manner, of my pledge of unconditional loyalty to the government of the United States—to an unwavering support of its efforts to suppress this wicked rebellion—and that I will spare no endeavor to maintain unimpaired the *national unity*, in principle and territorial boundary. I, however, avail myself of your invitation to express my views appropriate to the occasion and to the condition of our country.

I have never faltered in my confidence that the people of the loyal states, worthy of their free institutions and of their glorious country, would sacrifice all party feelings and prejudices, and would devote their property and lives, if required, to preserve the national life. At the same time, the painful admission must be made, that there are many men in our midst, of education, and who hold high official positions, who are so utterly lost to all sense of duty to their country, that they are imperilling its highest interest to gratify their party feelings and lust of power; there are again others, who, without being disloyal, are so ignorant of their duties as citizens, or so much deceived by false and wicked teachers, as to be recreant citizens. To this last class I particularly address these remarks—the former must be left to that condemnation by the people, which will, sooner or later, overtake and crush them; they are a *desperate faction*, by which, in the language of Mr. Madison, "I understand to be a number of citizens who are united by some common impulse of passion or interest adverse to the permanent and aggregate interests of the community." The history of our country in regard to all men and parties who endeavor to embarrass the government, when the country is in a condition of war, is most emphatic. "*Experience is the oracle of truth:* and when its responses are unequivocal, they ought to be conclusive and sacred." Their fate will be a stern lesson for future generations.

I proceed to endeavor to awaken the ignorant or deluded class, to a sense of their public duties, by presenting to them the following views:

The *fundamental condition* of every free political association, call it a state or nation, is, that every member thereof, is bound to give his property, and his life, if necessary, to *protect and defend* the association, and at all times to do all in his power to promote the true interests thereof. This is an axiomatic truth, which cannot be denied.

A correlative obligation is, that the state or nation is bound to protect every member of the association, in the enjoyment of life, liberty, property, and the pursuit of happiness.

A necessary result from this fundamental condition is, that every member of the association, state, or nation, pledges his faith and honor to every other member, that in good faith he will, when called to do so, give his property and hazard his life to defend and protect the association, state, or nation, of which he is a member or citizen.

This last pledge is the great Bond of Union; it results necessarily from the fundamental condition; and proceeds from each individual to every other as a condition of their being members of the association or citizens of the state or nation. This is the foundation of Loyalty, which belongs to all conditions in life, civil and political. It requires all to be "true to plighted faith and duty, in business and in their social relations as well as to the state." In free governments all are citizens, and all who are true and loyal to their obligations are *Fellow*-citizens, because they are in fellowship each with the others, on equal and kindly terms. "Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness." (Eph. V.)

The government which may be formed by the association, and ordained and established by the people, is the instrument by which the duties of the citizens of the state or nation are called into action and directed, and its energies controlled. When such government is established, all the members of the association have become citizens of a state or nation, and owe it allegiance. *Natural* allegiance arises from birth. *Express* allegiance is that obligation which proceeds from an oath of allegiance. Every citizen by adoption is thus bound to obedience to the nation.

One of the highest and most imperative duties of a citizen, is to obey the laws. This duty results as well from his obligation of allegiance as from his pledge of loyalty to each and every of his fellow-citizens, for the reason that when the government was formed and established by the people, they each and all to one and the other agreed to obey its laws.

From these great truths there results this inevitable consequence: When a citizen of the state, from selfishness, from dissatisfaction, from cowardice, or any other influences, avoids or refuses to perform his duty in sustaining his government in war, or denies the full force of these obligations, he must be held to be guilty of treachery, not only to the state, but to every citizen thereof.

The truth of this position will be admitted by all but base men, who are capable of disloyalty to their associates in business, or to their other social relations.

From these axioms we proceed to consider the actual condition of the country and the relation of each and all the citizens thereto.

The government of the United States has declared, through all its departments, that we are in a condition of civil war.

Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, in a letter to Mr. Adams, of June 8, 1861, says: "The government insists, as all the world might know, that it must and would, under all circumstances, insist on the integrity of the Union as the chief element of national life; since, after trials of every form of forbearance and conciliation, it has been rendered certain and apparent that this paramount and vital object can be saved only by an acceptance of civil war as an indispensable condition. That condition, with all its hazards and deplorable evils,

has not been declined. The acceptance, however, is attended with a strong desire and a fixed purpose that the war shall be as short and accompanied with as little suffering as possible."

Vattel says: "A civil war breaks the bands of society and government, or, at least, suspends their force and effect; it produces in the nation two independent parties, who consider each other as enemies." * * * "They stand, therefore, in precisely the same predicament as two nations who engage in a contest, and being unable to come to an agreement, have recourse to arms."

The United States and the people thereof are engaged in a war. The "Union which is the chief element of the national life" is at stake. *The government, and the people of the state of New York* are parties to this war. They have furnished money and soldiers to aid the national government in carrying on the war.

The people of this state, as well by their allegiance to the national as to the state government, are bound by all the ties which are respected by true men, to support the war at any sacrifice of property or life.

The legislative and executive departments of the government of the United States have established the policy necessary to carry on this war, and all the citizens of the state or nation are bound to sustain this policy, although they may not consider it the wisest, because it is the legally established policy. "The power to make laws" * * * "may be defined to be the power of prescribing rules binding upon all persons or things over which the nation has jurisdiction; it acts compulsorily upon all persons." * * * "A law of the land till revoked or annulled by the competent authority, is binding not less on each branch or department of the government than on each individual of the society." (Hamilton.)

From all this it is clear, that all those men, of this or any other state, who refuse with head and hand to support the government of the state or of the United States, in conquering that most inveterate and malignant enemy, are false to each and to all their loyal fellow-citizens—to the original condition upon which the state and nation were formed; are false to *both* governments, and being unworthy members should be driven out of the country, or if not so, should be shunned as moral traitors.

Citizens of this state have not the poor excuse of the secessionists, of being bound by their state allegiance. Citizens by adoption have no allegiance whatever to any particular state. Their rights are conferred by the United States, and their oath of allegiance binds them to that government.

To cavil about the wisdom of the established policy—to instigate popular hostility to the laws enacted in order to raise money or men to carry on the war—are at best unavailing, and are, most generally, a cloak to cover a base sympathy with the designs of the public enemy. But, above all, in abject debasement must those "democratic leaders" be held, who sought interviews with Lord Lyons, the representative of a foreign power, in order to induce "Foreign mediation between the North and the South."

The determined energy of the enemy presents but one issue to this war—victory or death to one party or the other.

Let the men who are now laboring to paralyze the arm of the government—to disorganize the army—to defeat the efforts of the government to fill up its ranks, and thus to expose them to defeat by overwhelming numbers—prevail in their evil designs. How long will it be before Washington will be taken, and the wealth of Philadelphia and New York reward the successful advance of a malignant soldiery? We rest in security only as long as we have an army competent to meet and repel the enemy.

The skill and energy of government, sustained by the devotion, endurance, and bravery of the people of the loyal states, must give the victory to the right. Of this there cannot be a doubt.

But, after the conquest of their armies—the invasion of the states in rebellion—what then? A dogged and obstinate resistance—not in arms, but through the power of their state governments to the authority of the United States—

will prevail. The future of our country after the war will call for all the wisdom and energy of our government. A stern necessity may require the establishment of territorial governments—perhaps to continue during the present generation.

It is not within the reach of hope, much less of belief, that the aristocracy, who made this war, the fruit of a conspiracy existing for years, involving fraud and perjury, will be capable, if even willing, to unite in cordial brotherhood with a people whom they despise and hate, and who have compelled them to submit to the humiliation of conquest.

As a conquered people, they must receive the law from the conqueror. What that shall be, must be dictated by future events. In closing, we add, that "a nation is never to regulate its conduct by remote possibilities or mere contingencies, but by such probabilities as may be reasonably inferred from the existing course of things and the usual course of human nature."

Your obedient servant,

JAMES A. HAMILTON.

FROM CAPT. CORNELIUS CURTIS, OF KEY WEST, FLORIDA.

ROOMS LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE,
April, 8, 1863.

DEAR SIR: Your kind invitation to be present at the grand rally of Sumter fame on Saturday next, would be cheerfully complied with, but for the necessity of my departure home, the extreme *southern* limits of our habitable country.

I regret greatly the necessity, for I should then say more than I can now write, though I must inform you that at Key West, on the last of February, was inaugurated a Loyal League, of whose existence you and the public would have been informed, but for the suppression of a loyal paper by a military commander, whose sentiments coincided with other officials, friends to traitors and rebels. Need I say that slavery is the lump which leavens the whole batch?

May it forever be done away with!

Very respectfully, your ob't servant,

CORNELIUS CURTIS.

LETTER OF HENRY W. ROGERS, ESQ.

BUFFALO, *April* 9, 1863.

GENTLEMEN: Permit me to thank you for your favor of the 4th, inviting me to speak at the mass meeting called for the 11th inst., in your city, for the purpose of inaugurating the Loyal National League.

I am ignorant—and unpardonably so, no doubt—as to the precise object of the League. But if, as its title imports, it is intended to subserve the interests of loyalty and union—if it intends, by its efforts, to strengthen the administration in its attempts to put down the rebellion—to encourage our brave troops now in the field—to countenance loyalty everywhere, and to rebuke and ignominiously punish treason wherever found, whether in the states that have seceded or in Indiana, Connecticut, or New York—steering above all mere party politics—it will not only have my sympathy, but my cordial and hearty support.

I will not doubt, from the high character of the gentlemen engaged in it, that this is its only aim and purpose; and I only regret that prior engagements must prevent my acceptance of your invitation.

In conclusion, if there must be a political party during the continuance of

this war for the preservation of the government, let it be known as the *Anti-rebellion Party;* and let all those who cannot sympathize with it be known and designated as *Rebels.* This will narrow controversy down to within reasonable (and, as I think, just) limits.

I am, gentlemen, very respectfully yours,

HENRY W. ROGERS.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS, Esq., and others,
Committee, &c.

LETTER OF MR. JOHN G. WHITTIER.

AMESBURY, 5TH 4TH MONTH, 1863.

DEAR SIR: I am sorry that, owing to illness, I am compelled to avoid writing, except at rare intervals. The song you ask for I could not give you in season for your occasion.

Your example is being followed all over the country—gathering up and combining the hitherto scattered and divided loyalty of the North. We must sink party (in the old acceptation of the term) out of sight, and make fidelity to "Liberty and Union" the only test.

It is of small consequence who have the *offices*, so that the country is saved.

Thanking you for thinking of me in connection with your meeting, and with the heartiest wishes for its success,

I am, very truly, &c.,
JOHN G. WHITTIER.

JOHN A. STEVENS, Esq.

CONNECTICUT—"TO THE LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE."

The Loyal Women's League of Bridgeport, in Connecticut, the state where loyalty has won its latest triumph, "sends greeting" to the Loyal National League, and pledges to it such a co-operation as women may give in this hour of our country's peril.

In behalf of the League,
(Signed) MRS. S. S. CLAPP, *President,*
MRS. MATSON M. SMITH, of *Ex. Com.*

BRIDGEPORT, *April* 10, 1863.

"MASSACHUSETTS" TO THE LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE, NEW YORK.

SALEM, April 9, 1863.

The Salem Union League sends greeting to the
"LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE OF NEW YORK."

As Salem was the first to carry the flag to the farthest corners of the eastern continent, so in this western world she will be the last to surrender it.

It must float again over "Sumter," never more to be stricken down.

In behalf of the Salem Union League,
GEO. W. BRIGGS,
President.

JOS. H. WEBB, *Rec. Sec'y, N. Y.*

LETTER FROM THE UNION LEAGUE OF THE CITY OF ROCHESTER.

SONS OF WASHINGTON, UNION LEAGUE HEADQUARTERS,
BARRACKS No. 1, ROCHESTER, N. Y., *April* 9, 1863.

To the Loyal National League, New York City:

BRETHREN: We cheerfully respond to your invitation to send delegates to your Great Loyal Union Meeting. You may be assured that Rochester and old Monroe will never be found wanting in any emergency in which an appeal may be made to their loyalty and patriotism. In these respects we claim entire equality, at least, with any county in the Empire State. We look with pride upon the fact, that, during the gloomiest period of the rebellion, we flinched not from the performance of our entire duty. We furnished an excess of volunteers of more than two hundred over and above the required quota, and in this respect stand preëminent in the state. Our "Gallant Thirteenth" distinguished itself in the first battle of the war, before Washington and Manassas, and its tattered flag has through many a sanguinary conflict nobly braved "the battle and the breeze." Under the second call, we sent two complete regiments of infantry, several batteries of artillery, and a large force of cavalry and sharpshooters, exceeding our quota by two hundred effective men, more than any other county in the state. Have we not a right to claim that "Old Monroe" is loyal? Here the present Secretary of State enunciated that truism of political economy, that free and slave systems cannot coexist, except with an "*irrepressible conflict*,"—a proposition now sufficiently demonstrated in the terrible contest we are waging with the supporters of slavery.

We are proud of our county, and a little vanity may be excusable.

Our Union League now comprises a large number of men, all true and loyal, devoted to our country, ready, if necessary, to die in her cause, and we are rapidly increasing. We tender you our right hand of fellowship, and grasp yours with a hearty GOD BLESS YOU.

May we soon unite in commingling our congratulations over the termination of this cruel war, and the establishment of a peace upon the basis of universal freedom.

In fraternal devotion to "The Union, now and for ever, one and inseparable,"

We are truly yours,

ROCHESTER UNION LEAGUE.

JNO. C. CHUMASERO, *President.*

J. H. NELLIS, *Recording Secretary.*

We hereby certify, that the following gentlemen, members of Rochester Union League, have been duly chosen as delegates by said League, to represent them in the meeting of the National Union League of New York City, to be held in New York, Saturday, April 11, 1863.

DELLON M. DEWEY,
GEORGE W. PARSONS,
E. M. SMITH,
C. D. TRACEY,
JAMES W. ADAMS.

JNO. C. CHUMASERO,
President.

ROCHESTER, *April* 9, 1863.

FROM THE UNION CLUB OF BOSTON.

BOSTON, *April* 9, 1863.

DEAR SIR: As the Secretary of the Union Club of this city, I have the honor to receive, through you, on the 4th inst., the invitation to attend the great mass meeting to be held, on the 11th, in Union Square, extended to the Club by the Committee of the Loyal National League of New York; and I hastened to lay the same before the Executive Committee of the Club.

The Committee received it with the most cordial respect; but, after mature consideration, directed me to say to you that the Union Club was formed several weeks before the auspicious occasion on which your association was so brilliantly inaugurated, for the encouragement and dissemination of patriotic sentiment and opinion, and the promotion of intercourse of an agreeable character among patriotic men of different pursuits in life, but its membership was restricted to such as should be specially invited to join it; and one of the provisions of its Constitution is, that "The Club shall never be called upon nor permitted to act in its official or associate capacity as a club, upon any political question or subject," and that, therefore, they are reluctantly compelled to decline, on behalf of the Club, your very welcome invitation.

The Committee also directed me to extend to your Committee and to the Loyal National League of New York, the assurance of their highest respect.

Fully reciprocating the pleasure you express at this renewal of our own friendly correspondence,

I remain, very truly yours,

CHARLES W. STOREY,
Secretary.

To J. AUSTIN STEVENS, Jr., Esq.,
for the Executive Committee of the
Loyal National League, New York.

THE PHILADELPHIA DELEGATION TO THE LATE SUMTER MEETING.

April 11, 1863.

The following gentlemen, among whom will be recognized many names well known to the country as eminent in law, commerce, and science, composed the delegation from the Loyal League of Philadelphia to the assemblage of the Loyal National League at Union Square, on occasion of the Sumter Anniversary, April 11, 1863. Never before in our history has New York been honored by so distinguished a delegation from our sister city:

NAMES OF THE DELEGATES.

Morton McMichael, *Chairman.*	Cadwallader Biddle,
Horace Binney, Jr.,	John Hanna,
W. H. Ashurst,	Charles Cabot,
George Whitney,	E. C. Markley,
James L. Claghorn,	C. F. Norton,
George H. Boker,	E. Carpenter,
Hon. J. I. Clark Hare,	Caleb H. Needles,
W. E. Moorhead,	J. E. Kingley,
Charles Gilpin,	R. S. Scott,
William H. Kern,	W. P. Jenks,

John Rice,
John B. Kenney,
Dr. Wilson C. Swann,
S. Fisher Corlies,
W. S. Stewart,
W. G. Moorhead,
E. S. Mawson,
Loyd P. Smith,
Henry Samuel,
John A. Murphy,
A. R. Chambers,
B. H. Brewster,
H. C. Carey,
Charles Gibbons,
Samuel J. Reeves,
J. W. Paul,
S. B. Thomas,
Stephen Colwell,
Hon. John P. Verree,
Frank Comly,
J. G. Fell,
H. Moore,
B. H. Brown,
George H. Crossman,
L. A. Godey,
Hon. W. D. Kelley,
C. Smith,
E. W. Bailey,
Samuel E. Stokes,
G. M. Coates,
Gibson Peacock,
Daniel Smith, Jr.,
W. B. Hazletine,
E. C. Knight,
James H. Orne,
F. J. Dreer,
James Milliken,
John W. Forney,
C. Clark,
C. A. Walborn,
R. W. Leaming,
Thomas Birch,
H. M. Watts,
J. E. Caldwell,
W. R. White,
B. H. Moore,
E. Mitchell,
William Struthers,
Jarvis Slade,
J. A. Barclay,
Samuel Slaymaker,
A. B. Grubb,
Theo. Adams,
W. J. Wainwright,
R. J. Reed,
William H. Tiers,
W. N. Rowland,
James W. Landell,
E. A. Browning,
Francis Wells,
James M. Paul,
John W. Claghorn,
Henry Ashhurst,
Samuel J. White,
Hon. James M. Scovel,
H. Dixon,
Dr. C. S. Wurts,
Charles Norris,
Capt. Frailey, U. S. N.,
R. B. Cabeen,
Rev. J. E. Torrence,
S. Bradford,
T. J. Megear,
R. Carter,
S. H. Haas,
F. E. Emhart,
George Erety,
John M. Riley,
Washington Keith,
E. T. Chase,
S. A. Caldwell,
T. Sweeny.

NATIONAL SONGS

ISSUED BY THE LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE,

ON OCCASION OF THE SUMTER ANNIVERSARY,

APRIL 11, 1863.

ALBANY, *April* 7, 1863.

DEAR SIR: I received a letter from John Austin Stevens, Jr., Esq., on the fourth instant, requesting me, in behalf of the Committee of the Loyal National League, to furnish a song, to be sung at the mass meeting in New York, on the 11th instant.

It affords me great pleasure to send the accompanying lines, in response, as a humble tribute to the objects of the League.

Very respectfully, yours,

ALFRED B. STREET.

JAMES A. ROOSEVELT, Esq.,
Secretary of the Loyal National League.

OUR UNION.

WRITTEN FOR THE GREAT SUMTER MASS MEETING AT UNION SQUARE, APRIL 11, 1863, AT THE REQUEST OF THE LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE.

BY ALFRED B. STREET.

AIR—*Red, White and Blue.*

OUR Union, the gift of our fathers!
In wrath roars the tempest above;
The darker and nearer the danger,
The warmer and closer our love.
Though bleeding, it never shall perish
It bows, but not sinks to the blast;
Foes rush on in fury to rend it,
But we will be true to the last.

Then hail to our Union of pride!
Stand guard 'till the tempest is past!
We all, in defence of the Union,
Will rally and fight to the last.

Our Union, ordained by Jehovah!
Man sets not the fiat aside;
As well cleave asunder the welkin,
As the one mighty system divide.
The grand Mississippi sounds ever,
From pine down to palm, the decree;
The spindle, the corn, and the cotton,
One pæan shout, Union, to thee!

Then hail to our Union of pride!
Stand guard till the tempest is past!
We all, in defence of the Union,
Will rally and fight to the last.

Our Union! the lightning of battle,
First kindled the flame of its shrine;
The blood and the tears of our people,
Have made it forever divine.
In battle we then will sustain it,
Will strive till the triumph is won;
'Till the states form the realm of the Union,
As the sky forms the realm of the sun.

Then hail to our Union of pride!
Stand guard till the tempest is past!
We all, in defence of the Union,
Will rally and fight to the last.

THOSE SEVENTY MEN:

A TALE OF THE TIMES.

FOR THE LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE MEETING, ON THE SUMTER ANNIVERSARY, 1863.

BY MRS. SARAH H. BRADFORD.

Where shall the scene be laid?
In some deep forest glade,
Where streams sweet music made,
Sparkling and clear;
Or 'mid the city's roar,
Or on the ocean shore,
Where waves their fury pour?
No—no—not there!

Shall I recite to-day
Some famous olden lay—
Tale of fierce strife and fray
Of other times?
No—for another theme,
Grander than all, I deem,
Fills e'en my nightly dream,
Wakens my rhymes.

Not Oeta's mountain pass,
That glorious burial place
Where fell Leonidas
And his three hundred;
Not that so bravely made
"Charge of the Light Brigade,"
'Gainst countless hosts arrayed,
At which all wondered;

Not where, 'neath India's sun,
Valorous deeds were done,
Victories bravely won
'Gainst bristling barriers—
Where 'midst the battle's shock,
Firm as the mountain rock
Stood noble Havelock
And his brave warriors;—

But I've a tale to tell,
Of fighting long and well,
'Mid showers of shot and shell,
'Mid cannon's boom;
No tale of olden time,
None from a foreign clime,
But one of deeds sublime,
Nearer our home!

Have you not heard it, then,
How those brave seventy men,
Shut up in narrow pen,
Battled for life?
While 'round on every hand
Thousands of foemen stand,
Sons of one mother land,
In deadly strife!

Batteries right of them,
Batteries left of them,
Cannon in front of them,
Volleyed and thundered;
Still those devoted men
Toiled in each smoke-filled den,
While e'en their foemen then
Looked on and wondered.

Now all the food is gone,
Help from the land is none,
And, ere to-morrow's sun
Dead they must be!
Stands the lookout on high,
Straining his eager eye,
Oh! he can *not* descry
Help from the sea!

Night closes round the place,
Darkness comes on apace,
Then comes one cry for grace—
"Fire!—we're on fire!"
Still pours the deadly shot
Into the fated spot,
Rise the flames fierce and hot,
Higher and higher!

Yet does their courage rise,
Still each his strong arm plies,
Battling with enemies,
Battling with fire,
Ready to do or dare,
Ready to *perish* there,
Watching the flames prepare
Their funeral pyre!

Once did each stout heart quail,
Once every cheek turned pale;
That Flag, which ne'er did fail,
Totters at last!
But, ere to earth it falls,
One whom no fear appals,
Darts 'mid the showering balls
Straight up the mast—
(Deed that's been done by few,)
His steady hand and true
Bears the Red, White, and Blue,
Nailing it fast!

* * * *

From Moscow, Napoleon,
From Persia, famed Zenophon,
From Sumter, brave Anderson,
Forced to retire!
Call you it *victory*, then,
When those brave seventy men,
O'erwhelmed by thousands ten,
Famine and fire,

Marched to their country's airs:
Marched 'neath the stripes and stars,
Greeted with loud huzzas,
While the drum beat?
These did not meanly fly,
Proudly their foes they eye—
Better than victory
Such a defeat!

* * * *

Brothers, the time may come
When, 'mid the cannon's boom,
We to defend our home,
Must to the fight!
Then let our watchword be,
Honor and bravery,
Union and Liberty.
GOD—AND THE RIGHT!

SONG

FOR THE LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE,

ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE ATTACK ON FORT SUMTER,

APRIL 11th, 1863.

BY GEORGE H. BOKER.

When our banner went down, with its ancient renown,
Betrayed and degraded by treason,
Did they think, as it fell, what a passion would swell
Our hearts when we asked them the reason?

Chorus—Oh! then, rally, brave men, to the standard again,
The flag that proclaimed us a nation;
We will fight, on its part, while there's life in a heart,
And then trust to the next generation.

Although causeless the blow that at Sumter laid low
That flag, it was seed for the morrow;
And a thousand flags flew, for the one that fell true,
As traitors have found to their sorrow.

Chorus—Oh! then, rally, brave men, to the standard again,
The flag that proclaims us a nation!
We will fight, on its part, while there's life in a heart,
And then trust to the next generation.

'Twas in flashes of flame it was brought to a shame,
Till then unrecorded in story;
But in flashes as bright it shall rise in our sight,
And float over Sumter in glory!

Chorus—Oh! then, rally, brave men, to the standard again,
The flag that proclaims us a nation!
We will fight, on its part, while there's life in a heart,
And then trust to the next generation.

ODE,

ON THE DEFENCE OF FORT SUMTER BY MAJOR (NOW GENERAL) ANDERSON, April 11th, 1861.

Composed for, and Delivered at the Great Loyal National Union League Meeting, in Union Place, New York, April 11th, 1863.

BY WILLIAM ROSS WALLACE.

O, well may the Nation wreathe for him
  Garlands green, and pure, and splendid,
Who vowed, in the dread night folding dim,
  That its flag should be defended;
That should rustle still each radiant fold
  O'er the grave of the dastard Tory,*
And its eagle answer, as of old,
  To the morning's earliest glory!

Not for him to wait for a feeble chief,†
  As he only groaned and trembled,
When the traitors round discussed relief,
  While their base, black hearts dissembled.
Not for him to peril stars that burst
  On a king‡ who would freedom smother;
For our Anderson's great heart was nursed
  By a true Kentucky mother!

How the walls of Sumter hailed his form
  Through the night in its martial splendor!
How the flag flashed out, like a starlit storm,
  In the hand of its stern defender!
And, O! when the morning's torch displayed
  Every stripe on the rampart peerless,
How the baffled traitors shook dismayed
  At the hero striding fearless! §

Then well may the Nation wreathe for him
  Garlands green, and pure, and splendid,
Who vowed, in the dread night folding dim,
  That its flag should be defended!
So the Constitution keeps its place,
  With the flag still proudly flying;
But the *Copperheads* that attack its base,
  In their own foul slime are dying!

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* Charleston, in the Revolution, was full of Tories.
† Buchanan, then the President.
‡ George the Third.
§ The Charleston rebels who, in view of the Buchanan administration's timidity and treachery, never dreamed that any United States officer would act with such loyal decision, were astonished to see Major Anderson, by the aid of a spy-glass, in the early light of that glorious morning, on the ramparts of Fort Sumter.

THE SHIP OF STATE:

(FROM A POEM BY PROF. LONGFELLOW:)

Issued by the Loyal National League at the Sumter Mass Meeting, April 11, 1863, *at Union Square.*

—Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State!
Sail on, O Union strong and great!
Humanity with all its fears,
With all the hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!
We know what Master laid thy keel,
What workmen wrought thy ribs of steel,
Who made each mast, and sail, and rope,
What anvils rang, what hammers beat,
In what a forge and what a heat
Were shaped the anchors of thy hope!
Fear not each sudden sound and shock,
'Tis of the wave, and not the rock;
'Tis but the flapping of the sail,
And not a rent made by the gale!
In spite of rock and tempest's roar,
In spite of false lights on the shore,
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea!
Our hearts, our hopes, are still with thee;
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith, triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee—are all with thee!

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